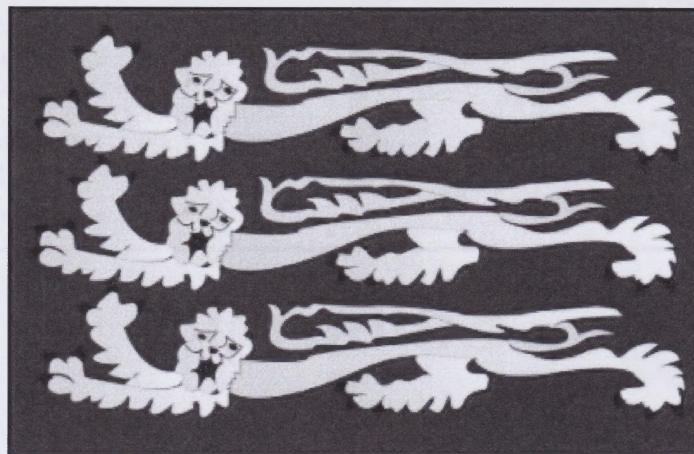


Heritage and Destiny



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Stand Men of the West - Today is the day we fight!

January-March 2012



BNP Marching Back to the Future?

reports from the
post-Griffin frontline:
rebel conferences,
new parties, court cases

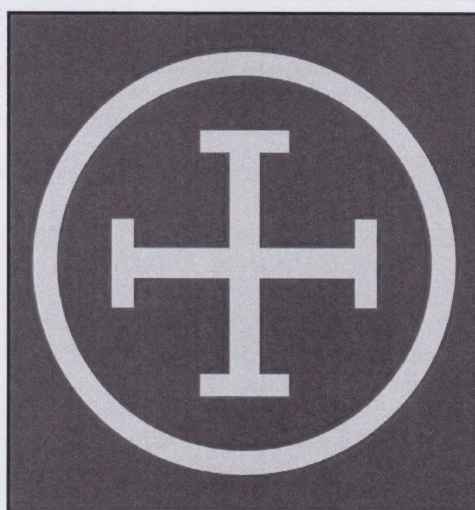
see pages 2-4 12-13 & 18-19



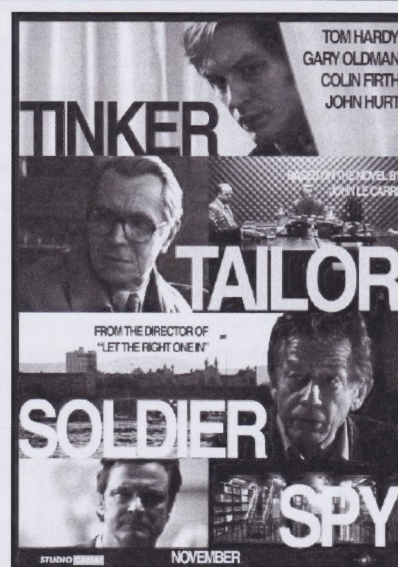
also in this issue:

**Jared Taylor's
*White Identity***

reviewed on pages 6-7



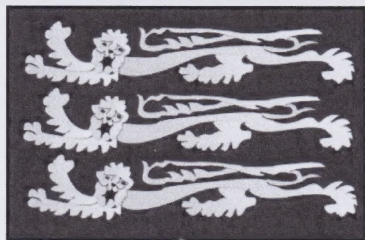
**Lady Renouf reports
from the first festival
of European Action**
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Movie Review

***Tinker, Tailor,
Soldier, Spy***

see pages 14-17



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Editorial

Welcome to issue 47 of *Heritage and Destiny*. First of all a big thank you to everybody who attended our very successful John Tyndall Memorial meeting in Preston on October 8th (see pages 18-19). It was a great pity that Andrew Brons MEP decided not to attend and speak at the meeting, having agreed to do so only a month before. We understand that Brons was concerned that sharing a platform with an open national socialist (Dave Jones from the British People's Party) might get him into hot water.

So you may forgive us for being a little taken aback when we heard that Brons had shared a platform with another national socialist (from the British Movement) less than two months later at a pan-nationalist meeting in Heckmondwike, Yorkshire.

The Yorkshire meeting was one of a series of localized meetings organized by Brons, following his "BNP Ideas" conference in Leicestershire on October 22nd (see page 3). The most recent of these meetings (as we go to press) was in Newcastle, Tyne and Wear which was attended by *H&D* assistant editor Peter Rushton.

While Brons is urging his supporters to stay inside the BNP (for the time being anyway) other nationalists have been slowly drifting away from the BNP and either joining existing nationalist parties or forming new ones. Griffin's former number two Jim Dowson, first set up the Britain First (movement) with Paul Golding and Andy McBride, then registered the oddly named "National People's Party" with the Electoral Commission. BF/NPP has also been holding a series of meetings up and down the country and it is estimated they have signed up around 350 ex-BNP members.

After thirty years in the BNP Richard Edmonds has rejoined the National Front, which is now led by Ian Edward. It is not clear how many

other BNPers will follow Richard into the NF, but a large number of them attended this year's NF Remembrance Day parade to the Cenotaph in London. According to reports between 200-250 were on the NF parade, a notable increase on last year.

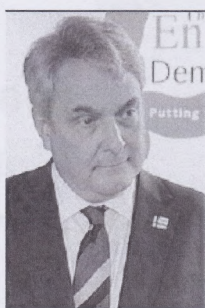
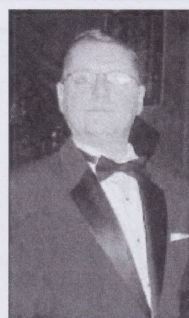
After six months of dithering former BNP election guru Eddy Butler was finally given an English Democrats membership card. EDs leader Robin Tilbrook (who is owed over £200,000 by the party) welcomed him on board the sinking ship (the ED membership has more than halved over the last two years). Even with the admission of 150 plus ex-BNP members – including their two councillors – who joined before Butler, the EDs do not seem to be making any real progress.

So what should racial-nationalists do in this (almost) post-Griffin era? We agree with former BNP Councillor Dr Jim Lewthwaite, that nationalists set up discussion groups in as many areas of the country as possible, which bring together as many activists from all racially aware parties and groups as possible. The JT Memorial meeting started this ball rolling, closely followed by the BNP Ideas conference. These pan-nationalist meetings that are now being held in different parts of the country, which bring together nationalists from not only the BNP, but from groups as diverse as the BM and EDs are a good start.

H&D recently placed an advert in *American Renaissance* magazine, which has brought in a large number of new subscribers. We would like to advertise in other like-minded magazines and newspapers both at home and abroad. If you have any suggestions/contacts please let us know, we are open to any ideas that will bring in new subscribers.

If you are an active Nationalist why not buy some extra copies of this issue to give out (or sell them!) at your next branch meeting – it's a great issue and should 'sell like hot cakes'! And as always we also need your regular donations – however large or small, every Dollar, Pound or even Euro counts. Please try and send in

whatever you can afford. Thanks once again for your support, together we will win.



Rival paths for post-Griffin nationalism are offered by (clockwise from top left): Andrew Brons MEP, still a BNP member but likely to launch a new party in 2012; Jim Dowson, head of Britain First/National People's Party; Ian Edward, chairman of the National Front; and Robin Tilbrook, founder and chairman of the English Democrats

Heritage and Destiny

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Push for Post-Griffin Unity at Leicestershire Conference

On 22nd October in the Leicester suburb of Syston more than 150 nationalists gathered to begin the process of building a movement that can take British nationalism forward from the cataclysm which has brought down Nick Griffin's British National Party. The outcome was united determination to prepare either for taking over the BNP structure, or carrying as many nationalists as possible into a new movement. The choice between these strategies will be determined not by nationalists, but by the inescapable legal and financial circumstances which are already known in outline, and will be known in detail by the New Year.

The main speaker at the conference (which was very well chaired by former BNP merchandising manager and webmaster Arthur Kemp) was Andrew Brons, former National Front chairman and BNP MEP for Yorkshire and Humber since 2009. He was joined at the top table by Richard Edmonds, former national organiser of the BNP; Martin Wingfield, another former NF chairman who edited the BNP newspaper *Voice of Freedom* and stood as number two candidate on the successful BNP slate in North West England at the 2009 Euro election; and Andrew Moffat, a UKIP parliamentary candidate in 2001 and former assistant to the historian David Irving.

It is interesting that all four platform speakers have a nationalist movement background dating back to the 1970s. All four were at one time members of the National Front, though they are very different characters who bring contrasting and complementary perspectives.

In stark contrast to the dismal cabal now surrounding BNP chairman Nick Griffin, each of these speakers is a man of unimpeachable integrity and substance.

Martin Wingfield was especially critical of Patrick Harrington, and he confirmed the story already known to *H&D* readers about Harrington's vicious conduct during the late 1980s. He made clear that his preferred option would be to join Eddy Butler and Chris Beverley in the English Democrats, though this section of his speech found less favour with the audience than his earlier analysis of the state of the movement. However Mr Wingfield indicated that he would remain in the BNP for the time being, and was prepared to take over from Nick Griffin as MEP for the North West if a bankruptcy restriction order led to the BNP chairman being disqualified from public office.

Richard Edmonds also stated that he was preparing to work with nationalists outside the BNP to help forge a viable movement, though in his case this was the National Front. As he reminded the audience, party labels were now of less consequence than the core content of the message required to give British voters a nationalist alternative. Londoners in particular were beset by an unprecedented crime wave and other social catastrophes resulting from the failed multiracial experiment.

"Whatever happens," Mr Edmonds emphasised, "we should take it that all nationalists of whatever party seek the same end."

Arthur Kemp had indicated that his preferred option was to move sooner rather than later towards a new party, and he had the sympathy of many in the audience (including this writer) in perceiving the urgent need for a new momentum to refresh jaded activists and offer hope to disillusioned voters.

But it was Andrew Moffat who provided the strategic plan that united almost the entire hall. In common with (in their different

ways) Martin Wingfield and Richard Edmonds, Mr Moffat believed it was vital to reach out beyond the diminishing ranks of BNP members and create both a political structure and a policy programme that could maximise nationalist unity. Yet it was also important not to alienate prematurely those BNP members (hitherto misguidedly loyal to Nick Griffin) who had the potential to contribute to a post-Griffin revival. Dependent on legal and financial settlements, it was still not impossible for the BNP itself to be reconstituted as a viable entity.

Therefore Mr Moffat argued that nationalists should build a "parallel structure" inside the BNP, continuing to exchange ideas and prepare for whichever move became necessary in the near future: either rescuing the BNP from the Griffinite cabal, or moving forward united into a new party.

In either event it would be crucial to continue the work of this Leicestershire conference in bringing together BNP members, BNP dissidents and members of other nationalist parties.

Andrew Brons summed up the feelings of many at the meeting and across the country when he observed that the BNP is in a terminal condition though not yet on its deathbed. He underlined the practical difficulties of creating a new party, and the danger that this could even in the short term solidify the misplaced loyalties of present day Griffinites who if approached correctly could still be won over.

A new party in Mr Brons's considered view was not to be embarked upon lightly, and he believed that a minimum of 1,500 members would be needed to become any sort of credible national force. The full facts about the BNP's present condition are presently emerging, and once this process is complete it will be possible either to rescue the BNP or to make an unequivocal case for a new

organisation.

An impressively wide range of nationalist speakers took the floor during the second half of the meeting, while other major figures in the movement were present but made their contributions in numerous private discussions and forward-looking networks that were forged in the course of the conference.

My own brief speech at the conference stressed the importance of building a nationalism rooted in ideas rather than stunts, and in comradeship rather than authoritarian cronyism. Both the conference itself and the excellent associated website www.bnpideas.com had pointed the way forward.

To give just one example, John Bean's recent articles on Europe had offered us a serious analysis of nationalist policy options that moved beyond reflex hostility to the EU, and offered a positive alternative vision of a European confederation that would advance the interests of its component nations.

I also argued that the movement should abandon its short sighted reliance on Islamophobia. Britain's decline has had nothing whatever to do with Islam. The financial and demographic crippling of our nation was planned and executed during the 1940s by political forces within our own establishment who knew exactly what they were doing. It is that treacherous establishment that a reunified and reinvigorated nationalist movement must combat with all its might.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England



The Welshpool Micawber

"Mr Micawber's difficulties are almost overwhelming just at present," said Mrs Micawber; "and whether it is possible to bring him through them, I don't know. ...If Mr Micawber's creditors will not give him time, they must take the consequences; and the sooner they bring it to an issue the better. Blood cannot be obtained from a stone, neither can anything on account be obtained at present (not to mention law expenses) from Mr Micawber."

Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, Chapter XI

At the end of 2011 Nick Griffin, leader of the British National Party since 1999 and Member of the European Parliament since 2009, more than ever resembled the tragicomic Dickensian serial bankrupt Wilkins Micawber, whose perennial refrain was that he was "waiting for something to turn up."

The 21st century Welshpool Micawber is reduced to waiting for the death of any wealthy patriot naive enough to have made a will in his favour during the party's illusory growth years. It is now obvious to all but the most deluded Griffinite cultist that the BNP will not recover as a serious political force unless there is a change of leadership. The only question is whether the party's creditors will destroy the organisation and what remains of Griffin's credibility, before any major legacy "turns up".

"Turning up" during the last few months have been the decisive stages of several legal cases. On November 7th the BNP's lawyers lost their final appeal in the so-called "Decembrist" case. This began when a group of senior Griffin officials lost faith in their leader at the end of 2007. They faced the usual reaction from the Welshpool cabal: intimidation, both physical and legal. In March 2008 an initial court hearing was held in Manchester: a case brought by Griffin against these "Decembrist" rebels, after which Griffin's then deputy Simon Darby wrote:

"We have got everything we asked for... I believe such moves will be seen as having been crucial for the continuing growth, discipline and structure of our movement."

In fact the case dragged on for well over three more years before Mr Darby and his leader threw in the towel. They then argued that they shouldn't have to pick up the bill for a case that they had themselves initiated. Understandably the courts took a different view. Earlier this year the BNP was ordered to pay an initial £45,000 towards the rebels' legal costs, which will total well over £100,000. Until the hearing on November 7th this £45,000 was held by the courts funds office, but after the BNP's final legal defeat on that day the money was released to the rebels' solicitors.

Lord Justice Ward was emphatic in rejecting the BNP's final desperate arguments and awarding total victory to the rebels' legal team headed by barrister Adrian Davies: "None of the arguments are substantial enough to give a realistic prospect of success. I see no realistic prospect of success and I dismiss the application." It is now a matter of waiting for the usual "taxing" of the legal bill: the standard official process which usually results in a modest reduction of various charges, but which will still leave Griffin and Darby having to pay at least another £60,000 (in addition of course to the bill for their own legal representatives).

I understand that more than half of the bill so far has been met by a donation from the party's London regional organiser Steve Squire, who in return for his misguided generosity will be named at the head of the BNP slate for next year's Greater London Assembly elections, and hopes to succeed Richard Barnbrook as an Assembly member. Frankly he has more chance of being appointed to the House of Lords as Viscount Squire of Enfield.

Mr Squire will need very deep pockets if he is to bail the party out of all its present difficulties. In parallel with the Decembrist case the BNP faces a continuing employment tribunal dispute involving former party administration officer and national nominating officer Michaela Mackenzie. In June 2010 Griffin had given up any defence in this case and agreed to pay Ms Mackenzie £25,000, but predictably he defaulted on this agreement. For various procedural reasons, Ms Mackenzie failed to enforce this judgment but is now proceeding to do so. This is yet another case where one of Nick

Griffin's closest aides has seen through him, leading to a damaging split and then an even more damaging court case, due to Griffin believing that he is entitled to behave with petty dictatorial spite.

On November 17th a less expensive (but in PR terms even worse) legal defeat was delivered by an employment tribunal in Belfast brought by Marion Thomas, sister-in-law of Griffin's former right-hand man Jim Dowson. Mrs Thomas had run the BNP's call centre office in Ulster but was dismissed at the end of last year when Dowson and Griffin fell out and the office was closed.

Typically Nick Griffin refused to face up to his legal responsibilities and emitted a smokescreen of bizarre allegations to cover up the shabby truth. This worked with a few of his own members, but didn't impress the tribunal who unanimously ruled:

"The tribunal heard allegations of blackmail, threats, cars being forced off the road, information being sought about political rivals, electoral malpractice, paramilitary involvement and that staple of Irish political life, the passing of money-filled envelopes in strange locations and in even stranger circumstances. However, this was, in truth, a banal and ordinary employment tribunal claim alleging unfair dismissal and non-payment of holiday pay, overtime, expenses and notice pay."

Mrs Thomas was ruled to have been unfairly dismissed by the BNP and was awarded five weeks' pay. Humiliatingly Nick Griffin was also fined £760 for failing to turn up or provide a witness statement.

Another unfair dismissal settlement involves Mark Collett, once among Nick Griffin's closest friends, who split from the Welshpool cabal at the end of March 2010 and immediately faced similar bizarre allegations of a murder plot, quickly dismissed by Yorkshire police. Such is the fast moving world of murderous Griffinite factionalism, it is a little startling to note that Collett was actually accused of plotting *against* Jim Dowson, who had supplanted him at Griffin's right hand but was soon to be best of enemies with Sir Nickalot.

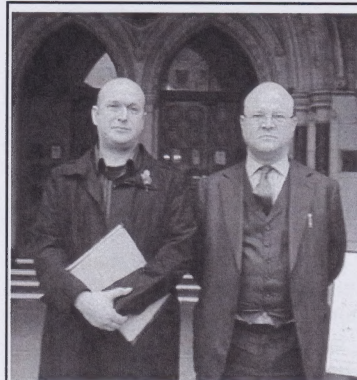
Mr Collett had been (amongst other roles) the BNP's chief graphic designer, a job he now performs for the English Democrats. Yet again the BNP leadership failed to follow basic legal procedures when dismissing Mr Collett from his former job, and party manager Adam Walker foolishly signed an agreement (in his own name) to pay him the balance owed. When the BNP failed to pay its debt to Mr Collett, he took legal

proceedings (assisted by English Democrat chairman and solicitor Robin Tilbrook). After hearings at Durham County Court in August and October 2011, Adam Walker was found personally liable and ordered to pay Mr Collett £22,026.87 which has been registered as a charge against his home. It seems unlikely that Nick Griffin will reimburse his chief lieutenant for this loss.

Both in Durham and Ulster unpaid printers are still queueing to sue the BNP for debts run up during the past few years. They include Newton Press, in Newton Aycliffe, owed £16,000. Andrew Brons MEP says: "It is wholly unacceptable that honest businessmen, who supplied their services in good faith, are treated in such an appalling manner."

At the end of November Mr Brons headed to the North East where he addressed a meeting of BNP dissidents. Though the venue for this meeting was deliberately leaked to the party's opponents by Nick Griffin's allies, forty members including key regional officials were joined by ex-BNP activists Dr Jim Lewthwaite and myself. A robust discussion followed a speech by Andrew Brons calling for urgent reform of the BNP structure to bring back nationalists alienated by Griffinism. Chaired by former regional organiser Ken Booth, the meeting also attracted a small group of Griffinites including Adam Walker, Michael Stewart and Pete Molloy; the anti-Griffinites included another former regional organiser Kevin Scott (who has been a BNP member since 1983) as well as former Sunderland organiser John McCaffrey and Denny Gallagher, BNP candidate for the Elswick ward where the meeting was held.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England



Eddy Butler (left) with barrister Adrian Davies outside the Royal Courts of Justice following the rebel victory over Nick Griffin on 7th November 2011



Yann Fouéré 1910-2011

The alternative to the modern tyranny of liberal multiculturalism does not have to be a reactionary, Colonel Blimp imperialism – still less does it have to be the crude slogans of the EDL. Perhaps more than any other European of the late 20th century, the great Breton nationalist Yann Fouéré – who died on 21st October aged 101 – showed us how our continent could be reinvented. In 1968 (while many members of

Europe's supposed intellectual elite were happily waving Chairman Mao's Little Red Book or advancing the cultural subversion of the "Frankfurt School") Yann Fouéré published his manifesto for a "Europe of a hundred flags", *L'Europe aux Cent Drapeaux*, which appeared in English twelve years later under the title *Towards a Federal Europe: Nations or States?*

As we contemplate the crisis of the 'eurozone' in recent weeks, we should turn to this book to rekindle our true and various European spirits:

"Europe must not be sterilized into a purely materialistic society where production figures would be the only yardstick of progress. Behind the cold exterior of figures and the world of economists, there are human beings and citizens, with the natural communities to which they belong. There is the infinite cultural wealth of Europe which springs from her diversity."

Fouéré reminded us that nationalist politics should be about identity, and that this identity did not necessarily correspond neatly with the political-geographical division of Europe into nation-states. Our cultural, national identity as Englishmen is distinct from our status as citizens of the United Kingdom. All the more so for Flemings inside modern Belgium, Basques and Catalans inside modern Spain, and Bretons inside modern France – including of course Yann Fouéré himself, and he paid a heavy price for his commitment to the 20th century Breton revival.

The dictates of the French state built on the 1789 Revolution sought to crush Brittany's independence, but after 1940 the government of the World War I military hero Marshal Pétain allowed rights for Bretons, including the teaching of their language and history. The young Yann Fouéré found that as a civil servant in the 1930s his academic brilliance could not prevent his career being sidelined due to his support for the Breton cause, but after 1940 the prospects seemed brighter both for him and for his nation. However in December 1943 the respected Breton priest Abbé Perrot was assassinated by Communist 'Resistance' terrorists. This pushed Breton patriots into an even more bitter conflict with the 'Resistance', and led to many Bretons including Fouéré later being fixed with the dreaded label of 'collaborator'.

Those fixed with such labels could not expect a normal process of justice. Postwar France even had its own "State Security Court", where suspects could be detained indefinitely without trial – today's equivalent being the Canadian "security certificates" that enforced Ernst Zündel's incarceration and deportation, or the *Völkerverhetzung* law in modern Germany that jails lawyers for defending their clients. Thus in 1945 Yann Fouéré had to leave Brittany, first for Wales and then for Ireland, escaping a sentence of hard labour for life. In his Irish exile he certainly did labour though, ceaseless labour for the cause of a new Europe, combined with building up a very substantial shellfish business on the west coast of Ireland.

In 1955 with the postwar witch-hunt atmosphere somewhat abated, Fouéré returned to France and was acquitted on all charges, but at the age of 65 in 1975 he was thrown into a French jail again and detained for five months without trial, this time accused of militant opposition to the French state's plans for nuclear power stations in Brittany. All charges were dropped in 1977, but yet again the French government sentenced him (in his absence) to eight years imprisonment in 1979 as a member of the Breton Liberation Front, which the prosecution described as "coupling Nazis and Red Brigades".

Anyone who could even be accused of such an unlikely feat must have been a remarkable man! And Yann Fouéré certainly was. Having been a founder member of the Celtic League since 1961, in 1999 he formed the Party for the Organisation of Free Brittany. By then he was free again to travel to France, because President Mitterrand had declared a general amnesty for Breton political "criminals". During the summer of this year – at the age of 101 – Yann Fouéré launched his autobiography *La Maison en Connemara* at events in Galway and Aberystwyth. He died a few weeks after this Aberystwyth event – but the real death is of the old Europe: the EU superstate and the hegemony of the banksters. Yann Fouéré's work lives on in the hearts and minds of true Europeans.

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White Identity: Racial Consciousness in the 21st Century - by Jared Taylor

Published by New Century Books, 2011. ISBN 978-0-9656383-9-5, soft-back; 340pp. Available for \$24.95 from American Renaissance online at - <http://www.amren.com/store/white-identity.html>

It is now over two decades since Jared Taylor has emerged on the scene as a formidable, intellectual advocate for the white race. He has presented a wide array of scientific, cultural and political insights to the general public on matters which are generally forbidden to be spoken about. This prohibition, enforced throughout most of Europe by law and in America by absolute social ostracization, is one which Taylor regularly disregards with impunity. Yet, it is not so much what Taylor writes or says, for others have also dared break the tribal taboos that hold us in line, but the grace, calm and wit with which he expresses them. In sum, Jared Taylor is our mind controllers' greatest nightmare, a dignified and intelligent white man, loyal to his people.

As such Taylor and his monthly publication, *American Renaissance*, serve as the borderline between what is and is not a violation of social censorship in America. To Taylor's left lies the mainstream conservative movement, which has come to be completely dominated by the "neo-conservatives," who although somewhat aware of racial reality and changing demographics (as a reading of their now defunct journal, *The Public Interest* and their main organ, *Commentary*, reveals) are quick to submit to current orthodoxies while denouncing those who don't. However, even those only slightly to his left, in the paleo-conservative ranks, whose viewpoint is expressed in the pages of *Chronicles* and *The American Conservative*, also remain under the fear of being proscribed by the Thought Controllers and refuse an open discussion of matters racial. Granted that in this latter camp Taylor is generally not criticized, despite an occasional nastiness here and there, but his ideas are steadfastly ignored. What has emerged over the past twenty years that *American Renaissance* has come on the scene is that it is only those willing to risk something (job, social status, paths to the public etc) who openly affiliate with Taylor. It comes down to this – in America if you value truth and care about your people, then Jared Taylor provides a model both courageous and insightful.

Yes, there are those who have criticized *AR* over the years on assorted accounts; its unwillingness to discuss Jewish influence in anti-white efforts, its pre-occupation with matters practical as opposed to religious, artistic and cultural, and its decided lack of real solutions to the tidal wave of demographic catastrophe. But these quibbles, to which we will yet return, real as they may or may not be, surely cannot blind anyone to the tremendous pluses of the twenty years that Taylor has labored for all that we hold dear.

In fact, he has not simply spoken and written tirelessly on matters racial, but has also assembled, via his publication and conferences, an all star lineup of serious thinkers who have offered their insights to the public on the major issues of our age. And, although, there are now several such vehicles of intellectual taboo breaking nature – one thinks of *The Occidental Quarterly* as a prime example – it is hard to imagine any of this without *American Renaissance* and those who have chosen to sail under its banner. Ranging from the since departed paleo-cons, Joe Sobran and Sam Francis (the former could never quite grasp the racial issue, while the latter certainly did!) to New Right thinkers Michael Walker and Guillaume Faye, from scientific geneti-

cists such as Richard Lynn to unreconstructed, southern loyalists best represented by the eloquent and witty Sam Dickson, Taylor has created a reflective movement where once there was largely only passion, rudimentary thinking and evasive talk about state's rights and Communist fronts. And, yes, he has brought into the movement many thoughtful Jews who see themselves as part of European civilization and seek to defend it.

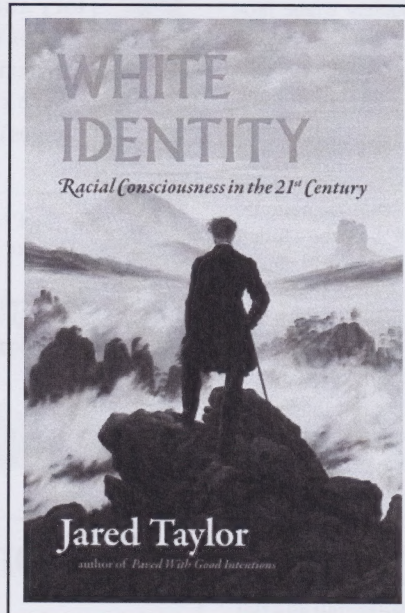
Unfortunately, as stated above Taylor is beyond the pale of that which the controllers of the American mind are willing to tolerate. Hence, it is very advisable for any speaker or writer willing to sign on with *American Renaissance* to be gainfully self employed or willing to forego employment altogether. Many are those who have suffered

Big Brother's lash after being "tainted" by Taylor. From the recently fired catholic school principal, Frank Borzellieri to the late Sam Francis, who lost his *Washington Times* job and syndicated column, to Father Ronald Tacelli and Rabbi Mayer Schiller, both who barely escaped losing theirs, it is not easy to speak the truth in America, even the coherent and seemingly irrefutable truths of Jared Taylor.

It is thus that all those pledged, in whatever fashion, to the preservation of the peoples of Europe owe Taylor a huge debt of gratitude for all he has done till this point. Recently, Taylor has added another book to his published and edited works. In *White Identity: Racial Consciousness in the 21st Century* he leads the reader with careful and meticulous research down the twists and turns of the dark forces that have brought European lands to the brink of (some may say, past the brink of) self destruction. It is a book painful to read. I found myself incapable of perusing it for too long at one time.

The book's basic thesis is that all races, other than the white race, are encouraged to celebrate their own identities and very much do so. They do this as they, via a combination of immigration and differential birthrates, are conquering the very white peoples who have welcomed them and encouraged their vibrant racial sense. The evidence presented is overwhelming. This is the book to get for your neighbor or relative who senses something is wrong but can't quite put it together. It will connect the dots in their mind. With Holmesian precision Taylor presents a picture of a white world gone mad, intent upon its own self immolation; hating itself, hating its very survival, while encouraging all others to revel in theirs. But whites aren't only forbidden by our Mind Controllers to have an identity or seek their own survival. They are commanded to hate themselves, their culture and their ancestors. The history they now teach their own children is that of their own wickedness and the righteousness of all others. So, not only do white elites demand that their peoples die, but they further declare that this be done via endless confessions of guilt.

(A digression – It might be asked, if whites are denied the right to have any positive group identity, why are they viewed as a group when their guilt extended back over centuries is assessed and their suicide called for? The obvious but never stated answer is that multi-racialism is anything but really "multi." It is not, as it claims, a celebration of human diversity with respect extended to all. That, whatever its limitations may be, is the position of the French New Right and its assorted schools of thought. Official multi-racialism is a deceitful but potent tactic, used by some peoples to conquer others and therefore not subject to the consistency of true, universal morality. Its call for universalism is selective. Only the conquered whites are held to it – not their conquerors.)



Taylor devotes his opening chapters to a survey of the failures of integration and diversity. Neither of these ideals has been realized. There is no real integration of the races. Very few whites or non-whites really desire it. Whites pay fearful obedient lip service to it while in practice forever fleeing its reality. Non-whites as well do not desire to live with whites. They do seek very much to live off the benefits of white societies.

Then the book turns to the racial loyalties of non-whites. These chapters, devoted to blacks, browns and Asians, are a most painful read. Evidence is piled on of the deep seated attachments that non-whites have for their own kind. They have no desire to integrate or abandon their nations to others. This is true among all other races. The very notion of multi-racialism doesn't so much as exist outside of European societies. Essentially, Taylor demonstrates conclusively that we have been sold a bill of rotten goods by those who wish to dominate, occupy and live off us. As is to be expected, there is little mention of Jewish solidarity in the book although the strange lack of an index makes this difficult to measure.

It is after seven chapters full of saddening data that the author turns his attention to "White Racial Consciousness." Here we are offered in great detail the fact, perhaps obvious to some, but certainly it will prove shocking to others, how deep a sense of white identity was part of America's ruling class up till the Second World War. Despite the current propaganda about America's strength being its diversity and the now assumed dogma that diversity is the definition of America, Taylor deftly proves that all these are newly hatched ideologies which would have been bizarre and incomprehensible to those who founded the nation and governed it up till WWII.

Thus, the book entices the reader. The problems of demographic change and non-white solidarity are spelled out. The transformation of white attitudes and the ruthless oppression of any dissenting voices among our race's current defenders are documented. It is accordingly with great expectations that we reach the last chapter, alluringly titled, "The Crisis We Face" and concluding with a sub section "America's Future."

It is here that this reader hoped for two things. First, that we be offered a bit more on the essence of white identity. Does it have some unique religious, aesthetic and/or political incarnations? Although *American Renaissance* has here and there featured articles on these matters, the overwhelming bulk of its discourse is negative, in the sense of what non-whites do poorly as opposed to what whites might do and have done well. From the pages of *AR* what emerges is that whites are an industrious, pleasure deferring lot not given to violent crime and possessing higher IQ levels than non-whites. These are clearly very positive traits but are the whole story. What about religion, Christian, Pagan or something else? What about music or art in general, the codes of honor and chivalry and romantic love? What is the role of objective science in the white psyche and so on?

Once again in *White Identity* the seeker after the soul of the white man will search in vain. We are a hard working, well behaved, intelligent bunch but what really made and make us tick? What made us explore the world and outer space, build technology, medicine and conquer the planet? What made us once tick so intensely and lately hardly at all? These are subjects of great mystery and it simply cannot be that Jared Taylor has not thought about them. But we will have to await another book in which this, the inner agenda of the white man will be dissected.

Finally, Taylor's plan for the preservation of the race boils down to educate, then stop immigration and, lastly, allow whites to "express pride in the accomplishments of their people". That is it. If we don't do the above we will "face oblivion."

But what is so painfully missing in this analysis and proposals is why this is not happening. Why do whites, even when presented with political alternatives to "oblivion" continue to vote for the political parties who seek to render them persecuted minorities in their ancestral homelands? Why do only small numbers of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Austrians etc., pull the lever for those who seek to protect them and their children? Why the continued cowardice even in the safety of the voting booth? In America the situation is far worse. There one finds no political vehicle to reverse current trends. Even the relatively tepid campaigns of Pat Buchanan went down to defeat. And let us look once again at Britain. The entire nation witnessed the riots of summer. Did this lead to a surge in voter support for the new, much watered down BNP or for any of its more robust competitors?

I do not claim to have the answer as to why all the white man seems able to do at this late date is move further and further away from non-whites while paying protection money in the form of taxes and falling prey to providing wealth and lives to wage endless wars against Talibans hidden in the hills of Afghanistan!

But this much I think is clear. Until we can have some idea of what has happened to us we are going to have a very difficult time reversing things. And it doesn't take a John Tyndall to tell us this is the eleventh hour. What emerge are two realistic possibilities. First, we must strive to keep white racist notions in play via books like Taylor's, while awaiting a social collapse that may provide an earthquake capable of shuffling the

very foundations of the current order. And, in the interim, the other task is to cultivate white survival on the cultural front, a subject of which there is little to be gleaned from *White Identity*.

This brings us back to the Jewish question mentioned above. Taylor has always welcomed Jewish thinkers to the *AR* tent. It is doubtless true that there are Jews who have an affinity for the order and civility of white societies. And it is only in white societies where Jewish intelligence and hard work will yield much success. Yet the question remains, can Jews experience themselves as part of the culture, the people, the very soul of the West, its blood and soil, its essence. As Chesterton once wrote, there are many Jews who have and will die for England. But they will not die with it. Should England die they would simply go elsewhere. And this renders the Jews, at the end of day, different. Now, it could be that it is worth making alliances with patriotic Jews and it could be that many of them can function as organic members of society. But this reviewer can't help but ask, might Taylor's particularly practical racialism be able to absorb Jewry while other more organic or spiritual models might find it difficult or impossible to do so? Surely these are significant questions for another time.

In the end, Jared Taylor's contribution to white folks everywhere is large and our gratitude to him for this is secure. He has provided an intellectual case for our survival. Yet, it is perhaps the lack of soul in *AR* which leaves it in the realm of the practical, with simply a functionalist critique offered. This might not generate enough heat to sufficiently boil our blood for the battles which loom.

Reviewed by Gil Caldwell, Trenton, New Jersey



Among the activists targeted for their association with Jared Taylor and *American Renaissance* was Rabbi Mayer Schiller (left), seen here in New York in 2001 with *H&D* editor Mark Cotterill

Spencer Cartlidge



We regret to announce the death aged 42 of Spencer Cartlidge, one of the most active nationalists in the city of Stoke-on-Trent during the last decade.

Spence was the England First Party candidate in May this year for the newly created Dresden and Florence ward on Stoke City Council, where he polled 6.1% and defeated the Liberal Democrats. He was one of the architects of the successful agreement between Stoke EFP and BNP branches to avoid splitting the nationalist vote in this year's local elections, a model for the future realignment of post-Griffin nationalism.

In 2010 he had been a "paper" candidate for Weston & Meir North ward on the old Stoke council boundaries, where he polled 2.1% despite devoting most of his time to the party's campaigns in other wards. Similarly in 2008 he had polled 1.8% as an independent in Stoke and Trent Vale ward, while spending most of the campaign supporting neighbouring independent nationalist Mark Leat.

As regular readers will know, Stoke is yet another example of a council area where nationalism made an initial impact, only to be wrecked by the factional divisions incited by the party leadership. In the early days before factional problems, Spence was one of the BNP's most successful candidates.

In 2003 and 2004 the first two Stoke BNP councillors (Steve Batkin and Mark Leat) were elected in Longton North, and when a by-election came up in March 2005 in the East Valley ward it was bound to be a high profile campaign. BNP activists flocked to Stoke from across the Midlands and beyond. Spencer Cartlidge was the party's candidate, and came within 61 votes of achieving a surprise victory that would have given nationalism unstoppable momentum in the Potteries. He achieved 22.3% in a tight four-cornered contest that was won by the Liberal Democrats with 25.2%. A few weeks later at the May 2005 general election he saved his deposit with 6.9% in the Stoke North constituency.

In 2006 Spence polled 26.7% to finish runner-up in Blurton ward, defeating both Labour and the Conservatives.

Outside politics Spence was devoted to his children and young grandchildren and was a fanatical supporter of Stoke City. He was delighted to see his team reach the FA Cup Final earlier this year for the first time in the club's history, thereby qualifying for this season's Europa League. His many friends in nationalism and football will mourn his passing, but celebrate his years of dedicated service to race and nation.

Hundreds of family, friends and comrades from the political and football worlds attended Spence's funeral on 21st October, including EFP and BNP activists and former Stoke City councillors Mark Leat, Michael Coleman, Steve Batkin and John Burgess.

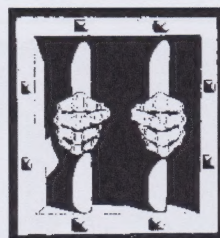
Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

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Nationalist Prisoners Aid Association (NPAA)

The NPAA is a relatively new organisation set up to raise money for UK nationalist prisoners and their families. It is independent of all political groups and will help all genuine nationalist prisoners regardless of party alignment. We are looking for people to support us and buy one of the NPAA badges (above left) for a minimum donation of £5.00.

**If anybody is interested in helping out, and/or making a donation,
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European Action Report

Eyewitness Report from Lady Michèle Renouf of the circumstances surrounding European Action's first Public Festival held on 10th September 2011 in Switzerland

Our arrival aptly coincided with the Harvest Parade and its Swiss picture-perfect street floats as Pierre Schlenk (E-A Swiss Liaison Officer), Richard Edmonds (fellow British representative) and I eventually reached the conference hall venue in the centre of the ancient township of Einsiedeln. It was about 14.45, on the sunny Saturday of 10th September 2011.

On finding the grand front entrance doors all locked, I ventured towards the back of the building, but was warned off by one of the comrades. He gave no explanation as he hurried off, though clearly some unconstitutional authority had barred the public from entering a public event – even as the leaflet about the aims of European Action had been passed as non-criminal in content by the Swiss police, as already acknowledged in the local press.

Not content to stand by wondering what was going on, I crossed the road and at a distance circled around to the back of this corner building to see if I could glimpse any activity which could indicate what was happening. I saw substantial Swiss police presence, yet heard Bernhard Schaub's microphoned voice booming from inside the conference hall! Surprised and pleased by these proclamations from the head of the European Diet, I thereby learnt that indeed the Festival for European Action had begun!

Returning quickly to the front of the building, I informed the comrades who had gathered there (perhaps about ten by then) that the Festival was underway, and that I for one intended to try attending it. No-one followed: I went alone, leaving them chatting on the pavement.

There was no problem for me when I entered the building from the rear entrance. I was not spoken to or stopped by anyone, though Swiss police were standing about. On being welcomed by three comrades who were stationed inside the door, the organizer Bettina Schaub (who saw me quickly snapping photographs for the benefit of English viewers) stepped up with warm greetings, inviting me to sit anywhere I wished among an audience of perhaps 200. I joined the table where the E-A leaflets were being hand-folded, leaflets I knew had been cleared as non-criminal of content by police authorities – as indeed could have been expected from the entire Festival.

As I readied my camcorder to record the speakers, a young comrade asked if he could use my camera if the police suddenly decided to storm in. I readily agreed, for armed police officers could be viewed from the doorways and windows. After about 20 minutes I spotted Richard Edmonds outside the four side doors talking to the police. Some time later he was admitted, and soon after was called up to the stage podium to address the public Festival on the topic of immigration, in German.

Police presence remained both inside and outside to exclude all admission by the general public, while a police cameraman stationed at the rear of the large conference hall captured the entire event intended for open admission to the general public!

After more speakers delivered their brief presentations in German, French and Spanish, I, too, was called by Bernhard Schaub to the stage podium to speak, in English, on the topic of Germany's Constitution. At 16.00, about two thirds of the way through my few minutes' speech, suddenly all four exit doors were slammed, synchronized, shut and everyone realized they had been trapped inside. As the peaceful audience and speakers exited via jumping through the window of the gents' room at the front of the building, I asked to lead a little group of us, like decoys, out via the side door which a comrade showed us. We found the police were waiting there, but they simply checked our passports and asked for our addresses then allowed us to pass.

I witnessed no scuffles between armed police and unarmed audience. Later on, the following morning, I heard from Dr Reinhild Cuhorst (and have recorded her account on film) about how she was still suffering the effects of being pepper-sprayed on the day by the head of the police force who had indiscriminately sprayed this nasty substance into the air whilst she was simply standing there! Dr Cuhorst, a medical specialist in respiratory ailments, had been temporarily blinded in one eye and suffered a coughing fit after this inhalation – which could prove dangerous for a harmless, senior lady with a serious heart condition being subjected to such irresponsible treatment. I believe she will be seeking legal redress for this reckless police irresponsibility.

Those attending the public Festival who had not fled away (after jumping outside through the gents' room window of the conference hall) were corralled there by the police. In peaceful protest they sang their *Europäische Aktion* songs by which indeed, they succeeded at last in reaching the ears of the curious Swiss public! I filmed this scene without much problem and handed out (as did other comrades) the E-A leaflet to passersby who were interested to learn what was going on. After about half an hour, as the corralled comrades were being permitted to disperse, I noticed that Bernhard Schaub was being led away by police. Eventually, and evidently all the comrades and their leader were freed as the second part of the day's festive proceedings (scheduled at an historic hillside venue) went ahead successfully without incurring further police foreclosure.

I heartily congratulate all concerned for organizing this brave first public European Action Festival, which not only successfully disdains "the outfits of immature Anglo-American subcultures or NATO uniforms" – but, given the privileged tyrannical conditions, also stood their ground to triumph over the misanthropic privileged veto Occupiers of our nation states!

Lady Michèle Renouf, Kensington, London, England

Moral and Morale Re-armament Campaigner at
www.jewishrepublic.com
Email: ladyrenouf@tellingfilms.co.uk



European flags including H&D's Union flag atop a Swiss mountain at the first Public Festival of European Action.

(below left) Richard Edmonds addresses EA representatives from across the continent. (below right) Bernhard Schaub withstood police intimidation and later celebrated the success of the event with Dr Rigolf Hennig and Lady Michèle Renouf.



Inquiries & Reports - A Substitute for Action

Many years ago, the late John Tyndall wrote an article in *Spearhead* in which he drew attention to the increasing practice of British governments resorting to public inquiries, tribunals, committees and the like to deal with problems for which they could find no solution, or for which they lacked the will and courage to take appropriate action. Mr Tyndall asserted that governments hoped that by such means, the public would feel reassured that something was being done to rectify problems and malpractices. Since then, these costly exercises in fatuity are used with ever-increasing frequency. Politicians and other officials regularly use public inquiries as a method of keeping a multitude of scandals and embarrassing events under wraps. Such dishonest methods are ideal for incompetents, procrastinators and malefactors with something to hide. The usual outcome of public inquiries is the publication of an official report, which, too often, is little more than whitewash.

In recent times, there has been a marked escalation of these inquiries. It is not difficult to understand why. The public inquiry and its resultant report have become the preferred means that our legislators use to avoid or delay necessary action. By this process, they are also often able to transfer the onus of blame for their own failures on to convenient and sometimes innocent scapegoats. A good example of this was the Macpherson Inquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence. To the Government's relief, in his report Macpherson accused the police of 'Institutional Racism' rather than blaming the politicians' policy of unlimited immigration that gave rise to this sort of crime in the first place. Therefore, it was argued, Lawrence's death was the fault of the police. The outcome of the Report was a catastrophic loss of police morale from which it has never recovered. The Labour Government vainly tried to restore the reputation of the police by forcing police officers to attend 'racial awareness' courses. This may have been acceptable to high-ranking officers seeking promotion by currying favour with politicians, but it exacerbated resentment among the police rank and file and the public at large.

The cost of inquiries is enormous. Those gaining most from them are the lawyers who do very nicely for themselves. The Bloody Sunday Inquiry under Lord Saville, called for by Prime Minister Blair, lasted for 12 years and cost £195 million. The inordinate length of the Inquiry enabled it to be effectively kicked into the long grass for long periods, which was probably welcomed by the Government. By the time that the Report was eventually completed, memories had faded and some of the witnesses were already dead.

The outcome of the Report was farcical and deservedly merited great criticism. Apart from unfairly censuring the British Paratroopers for losing control, no one was held to be guilty for what occurred. Paradoxically, the Report, while acknowledging that IRA leader Martin McGuinness was present on that day, stated that although "he was probably armed with a Thompson sub-machine-gun, he did not engage in any activity that provided any of the soldiers with a justification for opening fire". McGuinness now masquerades as an elder statesman, and is Northern Ireland's Deputy First Minister. In that capacity he has the effrontery to condemn Irish nationalist terrorists for participating in recent outrages.

Another aspect of public inquiries is that those usually selected to head them, are chosen precisely because they are regarded by our masters as 'safe pairs of hands', making it extremely likely that the ensuing reports will contain conclusions that governments wish to hear. The out-

come of the Hutton Inquiry into the death of Dr David Kelly is a typical example. Thus it is that public inquiries and reports are a useful means of enabling governments and public bodies to camouflage embarrassing matters they would sooner we forgot. Such, I predict, will be the inevitable fate of the Leveson Inquiry into the *News of the World* hacking scandal, as it was with the inquiry into MPs' expenses.

At this juncture, it is perhaps pertinent to mention that yet another official inquiry is likely to be convened to examine the case involving the disgraced ex-Defence Secretary and expenses cheat, Liam Fox, and his 'adviser', Adam Werritty. There should be no need for an inquiry. The matter should be reported to the police. If these gentlemen have contravened any laws, they and their accomplices should be charged forthwith. Perhaps the most sinister aspect of this latest scandal is the connection

between Dr Fox, Mr Werritty and the Conservative Friends of Israel. It is noteworthy that Werritty's company, Pargav, is funded by an Israeli lobbying company.

It goes without saying, that the calibre of those selected to head inquiries, usually judges and lawyers, does not inspire much confidence with the public. The frequent lenience that some judges show towards criminals guilty of the most heinous crimes is a matter of grave public concern. That being so, why are such appointments made? Apart from the selection of woolly-minded and obviously prejudiced persons to head inquiries, the appointment of unsuitable people to some of the highest offices in the land is also a cause for anxiety.

For instance, currently the Chairman of the Parliamentary Home Affairs Committee is the unsavoury

Keith Vaz MP. Mr Vaz, as well as being an expenses cheat, has been involved in numerous scandals, including the Hinduja affair and was also involved with the activities of Nadhmi Auchi and Shahrokh Mireskandari. In 2001, he was dismissed as European Minister, and has the distinction of receiving one of the longest suspensions from the House of Commons. Unbelievably, since 2003, Vaz has been a Member of the Constitutional Affairs Select Committee. One would have thought that Vaz would be disqualified from holding any position of responsibility. Similarly, the former Speaker, Michael Martin, who was forced to resign in disgrace, was later ennobled and thus remains a member of the legislature he betrayed. He now enjoys the pension of an MP in addition to his Speaker's pension, and the perquisites and privileges of a member of the House of Lords. His successor, the pipsqueak John Bercow, is no better. Bercow, like the virago Hazel Blears and numerous other MPs, is another expenses cheat and second home 'flipper' who tried to avoid paying capital gains tax. How do these scoundrels avoid imprisonment?

With the current plethora of inquiries comes a paucity of common-sense. This is reflected by the superfluity of gobbledegook contained in the ensuing official reports. Few people have the time or inclination to read the vast deluge of printed material thus generated. Much of this verbiage deals with arcane matters and controversial issues that governments have no idea how to resolve. Any observant visitor to the reference sections of our main libraries can hardly fail to notice that the shelves groan under the sheer weight of Green Papers, White Papers, Black Papers, Discussion Documents, Committee Minutes, and Official Reports *ad nauseam*.

Any library visitor who bothers to dip into these effusions of officialdom will discover that they are not easy reading. He or she cannot



Martin McGuinness was an IRA leader at the time of 'Bloody Sunday' yet the farcical Saville Inquiry into the events of that day ruled that his being armed with a Thompson submachine gun had not provoked British soldiers into opening fire! McGuinness is now Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland and a candidate in the Irish presidential election

fail to notice that they are replete with many of the errors our English teachers taught us to avoid, such as verbosity, pomposity, prolixity, hyperbole, officialese and that incomprehensible jargon that is so popular among those highly paid superannuated pen pushers of the Civil Service responsible for drafting official documents. For these reasons it is not surprising that such publications are seldom read and still less often understood. That is why governments are so inordinately fond of them. They provide the perfect smokescreen for the procrastinator, the shirker, the charlatan and the poltroon; but they do give the long-suffering public the impression that something important and positive is being done to ameliorate matters.

My scepticism regarding the efficacy of public reports and other governmental instructions, circulars and leaflets was the result of an early interest in political matters. Later, as a committed Nationalist and parliamentary candidate I felt it incumbent upon me to study numerous turgid documents of this genre. As I write, I look on some of these well-thumbed and tattered publications on my bookshelves. Many of these are concerned with reports and papers relating to the Heath Administration's application to join the EEC (now the EU) and succeeding governments' policies aimed at ensuring that we remain shackled to that over-bloated, corrupt and ailing organisation. In addition, almost

as many similar documents in my possession are devoted to the vexed issue of immigration, a problem that our blinkered and treasonous politicians have allowed, and even encouraged, thus undermining the cohesion and unity of our country.

One publication in particular drew my attention to the fundamental prejudice and dishonesty of its authors. The Home Office 'Study' (1981) claimed that in the areas studied, coloured people were far more frequently subjected to racial attacks (and who determines what qualifies as a racial attack?) than white people. However, when this document is carefully read, it becomes apparent that by sleight of hand and clever manipulation of statistics, truth is stood upon its head; for at the time the study was undertaken, far more Whites than Coloureds were subject to racially motivated attacks. This fact, however unwelcome it must have been to the self-appointed elite who determine public opinion, did not tally with the views held by the police in those pre-Macpherson days. Police, working in areas with large immigrant and immigrant-descended populations, were well aware that Coloureds (particularly Blacks) were responsible for 75 per cent of violent crimes. They were certainly more attuned to reality than the politicians and academics in their ivory towers.

In the same year, the now thoroughly discredited inquiry into the Brixton Riots was convened under the chairmanship of Lord Scarman. I took a particular interest in the inquiry and was one of those who submitted evidence to it. The basis of my submission was that the underlying cause for the disorders in Brixton and elsewhere at that time was the fault of politicians of successive governments who turned a blind eye, or actively encouraged, the settlement here of large numbers of immigrants whose cultural background and habits were incompatible with those of the indigenous population. As far as I am aware, I was the only respondent who used this argument. Although receipt of my submission was acknowledged in Scarman's Report, it almost certainly ended up in his Lordship's wastepaper basket or that of one of his minions.

Apart from claiming that the Brixton riots were occasioned by the insensate attitude of native Britons, and particularly the police, towards

coloured people – an assertion that was demonstrably untrue – Lord Scarman falsely suggested that unemployment among Blacks was also a major contributory cause of the rioting. However, this claim was contradicted by Department of Employment figures that conclusively showed that on a *per capita* basis Whites suffered far more unemployment than did Blacks. Furthermore, Scarman did not explain the absence of riots in areas that had large numbers of unemployed Whites but few Blacks.

Now it would be reasonable to suppose that deliberate falsification of this kind would have been pounced upon and highlighted by the media. But no such thing occurred! The media, that omnipotent and unaccountable

estate of the realm, seemed then, as it does today, to be as determined as the politicians and bureaucrats to prevent the public learning the truth. Even today, when official reports contain information diametrically opposed to what the political elite would have us believe, that information is either played down or completely ignored by the media. The days when the media could be trusted to disseminate at least a modicum of truth are long since past; that being so, it is hardly surprising that slogans like 'Freedom of the Press' today have a distinctly hollow ring. Newspapers and TV editors are far more interested in reporting the lewd activities of so-called 'celebrities'.

It is beyond dispute that many of the public figures who so ardently

and vociferously support the recommendations and nostrums advocated in official reports and government papers do not trouble to read them, though frequently regarding them as if they were Holy Writ. In 1971, during the negotiations for Britain's accession to the EEC, I questioned several pro-EEC MPs and others who were making public speeches informing us Britain was doomed if we did not join. I soon discovered that not only had some of these people not even read the Treaty of Rome, they had not even read the Government's White Paper that outlined the reasons why we should join! Yet they had the presumption to tell us that joining that squalid reincarnation of the *Zollverein* was essential for our future prosperity and even for our survival! One MP, evidently exasperated by my questioning, told me that he had tried to read both documents but had been unable to understand them! At least he was more honest than were some of the others.

In this brief article, I hope I have managed to show that we must never take for granted information emanating from official sources. On the contrary, we must treat such outpourings with the greatest circumspection because we know that they can be, and are, used as a substitute for action, a means of bamboozling the public, and a convenient method for shelving tricky matters until the arrival of what they hope will be more propitious times.

So the public inquiry and its sequel, the official report, have become dangerous weapons in the hands of our legislators by providing them with a means of delaying or avoiding any need to take prompt and essential action. They also enable difficult problems, governmental criminality and embarrassing scandals to be concealed. The recent vast proliferation to which this dishonest form of government has given birth, has sadly become the norm. By such fudging and procrastination, important issues that require immediate attention and courageous decisions are not faced; rather they are obscured by a surfeit of printed verbiage. The moral is clear: fewer words and more action.

Ronald G W Rickcord, Newport Pagnell, England



Despite being himself implicated in several scandals Keith Vaz remains chairman of the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, responsible for scrutiny of important policy areas.



Book Review: *New British Fascism – Rise of the British National Party* by Matthew J. Goodwin

Published by Routledge, 2011. ISBN 978-0-415-46501-4 235pp, soft-back, Available for £26.99 or \$49.95 from www.routledge.com or by post from Bookpoint, 130 Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4SB, England, and via www.amazon.co.uk

The first time I heard that Matthew Goodwin had published this book was when it was mentioned on Eddy Butler's blog. Eddy also mentioned that he was among the sample of Nationalists that Goodwin interviewed for this book. Actually in addition to Eddy, both myself and Jim Lewthwaite were also interviewed for this book. Goodwin told us he was doing the interviews as part of a research thesis while he was at the University of Manchester. Since then he has moved on to be a politics lecturer at the University of Nottingham and the 'thesis' is now a 235 page book. If you think his name is familiar then, yes, he is often interviewed on TV (usually the BBC) as the resident 'expert' on the British political far right.

The book is of course in some respects behind the curve as it talks of the growth of the BNP while we are now witnessing the (terminal?) decline of the BNP. The book is well written in clear readable English. Despite having been written by what is effectively a social scientist there is little use of bizarre concepts or unintelligible theory names. There are a few typos but this is normal in modern printed material. Most publishers do not employ large numbers of proof readers because of labour costs (unlike *H&D* with its excellent volunteer proof readers!) which means that if computer spell checks are used instead, if a 'typo' is a valid word the system passes it.

The first three chapters of this book are a simplified history of Fascism/Nationalism in this country up until the last decade. I say 'simplified' for a reason: Goodwin has used existing sources for his 'research' and doesn't go very deep into the various parties or their leading personalities. In fact a reader can get better coverage of the NF and various splinter parties from approx 1990 to the present era using Peter Rushton's recent history series in *H&D*. As an example of Goodwin's failure to research in depth try this: "join the Referendum Party, a Eurosceptic party that disintegrated shortly afterwards." (p133). The Referendum Party was of course a single issue party, founded by the millionaire Sir James Goldsmith, in the run up to the 1997 General Election. The single issue the Party campaigned on was that the major parties should accept in their manifestos that Britain should not enter a single European currency without a National Referendum. By Polling Day in 1997 all three parties had accepted this. Having achieved his objective, Sir James, who was terminally ill with prostate cancer, wound up the Party (he died some six weeks later). Of course looking now at the carnage in the Eurozone the Referendum Party in 1997 may have done more for the average voter than the three major parties have achieved in 14 years since then. Because of Goodwin's sloppy research and failure to use easily accessible sources I would have to rate the first part of the book 4/10 as a Nationalist or 7/10 for non-Nationalist (a non-Nationalist would have received a basic but simplistic history lesson).

Turning to the next part of the book, chapters 4-6 cover the BNP's organisation, its increasing appeal and the groups it appeals to for both voters and activists. In this section Goodwin sets out the sociological theories that he and other researchers have developed to explain the rising number of voters for national parties. He includes among 'other researchers' those who have looked into similar parties in Europe (FN, VB etc). Having set out his theories he then goes on to produce 'evidence' to verify his opinions. In fact I hope to show, without having to make a great deal of effort, that his evidence is poor and methodologically flawed!! Goodwin postulates that the main support base for Nationalist parties are the 'losers' in modern society. This includes

unemployed, poorly educated, often older workers who are in semi-skilled or unskilled trades. A further factor which often applies in Nationalist 'hot spots' is exposure to immigration and the perceived competition for jobs and resources, social housing etc. Another factor which he repeats on numerous occasions is a mentality of being under threat from 'settled Muslim communities' (this is obviously different from exposure to immigration as immigration includes non-Muslims such as Poles et al.). Finally he suggests that the groups involved have a feeling of 'disenfranchisement', in other words they think the three major parties have failed them and are disgusted by mainstream politicians involvement in such sagas as 'Expensesgate'. I can begin by correcting Goodwin on one obvious item. 'Settled Muslim communities' is a misnomer as a combination of immigration, high birth rates and aggressive behaviour towards neighbouring non-Muslims as is mandated under sharia law and the Quran means that 'Expanding Muslim communities' is a better description.

I could of course at this stage point out the example of the most famous Nationalist Party in history! Despite the fact that Hitler's Nazi Party had the word *Arbeiter* (workers) in its title (NSDAP) Hitler achieved election on the backing of middle class German voters who were among the great 'losers' of the Weimar inflation followed by the Great Depression. Most German workers voted Communist.

Turning to Goodwin's description of typical BNP voting areas I can look at my knowledge of two Met Districts in West Yorkshire, Bradford and Kirklees. I can well remember listening to a conversation with (Kirklees BNP) councillors David Exley and Colin Auty. Both were talking about campaigning in their wards. They avoided campaigning in 'social housing' areas – 'the estates' – because people living on the estates either were not on the Electoral Roll, or did not vote or were 'tribal' Labour voters. They canvassed the middle class, owner occupied housing in their wards.

Reviewing the two Met Districts in more detail let's start in North Bradford, Worth Valley Ward. This is a rural area of some villages, hamlets and isolated terraces of houses with virtually no

social housing, in fact it is 'Brontë country'. One group that Goodwin misses completely in his theories is rural voters. At one time Labour was perceived as a 'Metropolitan' Party with the Tories and Liberals contesting for the rural vote. Now all three parties are effectively Metropolitan parties. A further factor leading to a feeling of 'disenfranchisement' among rural voters is that under the Heath/Walker local government reforms of 1974 and more recent reforms initiated by John Prescott many rural voters were moved out of being County Council voters and now vote in 'outlying wards' of 'Unitary Authorities' or 'Met Districts'. To see a further example of this let's mention one of BNP's first success stories in Burnley DC, Cliviger Ward. Cliviger is not an inner city ward but a village several miles out of Burnley on the road to Todmorden. As further proof of continuing rural voter support for Nationalist parties the remaining BNP Cllr in Burnley DC (also a Lancashire County Councillor) is Sharon Wilkinson who represents Padiham, a small market town several miles from Burnley.

Returning to Worth Valley Ward the councillor fitted Goodwin's theorem: Chris Kirby was a brickyard worker. Moving on to Keighley West Ward this fits the theory very well with two large council estates and a Cllr (Angie Clarke) who was a single parent either on a low income or benefits. Moving down to South Bradford we have Wibsey Ward, an area of middle class owner occupied housing with one small estate (Smith Avenue – at most 200 houses) and some Asians moving in to one end of the ward. The successful councillor (Arthur Redfearn) was a bus driver. Then we have Wyke Ward a mixture of working class and middle class owner occupied housing with a few high value houses, some Asians moving in and two small estates (Delph



Hill & St Mary's – at most 400 houses). The Cllr (Jim Lewthwaite) was a college lecturer now working as a security officer. Between Wyke and Wibsey we have Royds Ward. This has two large estates, Woodside and Buttershaw (the film *Rita, Sue & Bob too* was set here!) but it has remained a safe Labour ward. Finally, in Bradford Met, we have the Nationalist stronghold of Queensbury. This Ward, like Wyke, is a mixture of working class and middle class owner occupied housing with a few high value houses. In a Ward of over 7000 houses the estate (Hungerhill) is approx 150 houses. The successful councillors (Paul & Lynda Cromie) are self-made millionaires!!

Moving down to Kirklees MDC I have already pointed out the Auty/Exley theorem of where their voter base came from. Turning to the Kirklees councillors, Colin Auty was a self-employed decorator (now a pub manager), David Exley is an electrician and the third councillor Roger Roberts was a former Tory councillor and a solicitor.

I would suggest one of the reasons why Goodwin's analysis fails to recognise the amount of BNP support among middle class, professional, academic, and monied groups is his methodology. His methodology uses a (very small – see below) sample of interviewees. This is a 'selfreferencing' system where some of the interviewees suggest to the interviewer other persons who the interviewer might find it 'useful' to talk with. Remember, of course, the BNP has had various 'security breaches' where professional persons who have had their BNP membership exposed have had their careers wrecked. As a result many professional persons, BNP members, who are contacted by a 'University researcher' asking to interview them for his 'thesis' are likely to say 'No', as they are worried that their confidentiality may not be respected and it could cost them their careers. In fact and to his credit Goodwin appears to have fully maintained the confidentiality of his interviewees. His interview methodology can arguably be said to have discouraged professional and academic members of the BNP from coming forward whilst unemployed and skilled/semi-skilled workers would not be deterred from being interviewed.

One alternative source of information about the employment of BNP members available in the public domain is the membership lists. Looking at the Nov 2008 list (M Single edition) we can glean a lot of info. Yes, there are no details of employment by some of the members but others are listed as 'Proof of entitlement seen' which means they are paying reduced membership dues as either pensioners, students or benefits claimants. Of the remainder there are a wide variety of employments including armed forces, professionals, academics, self employed, small business owners and some larger entrepreneurs such as Scott McLean. In fact that leads to another 'disenfranchised' group that Goodwin has missed. I am referring of course to current and ex-servicemen. These are people who have risked their lives for 'Queen and Country' but who now feel that the 'Military Covenant' has been disowned by the three major parties so they have to look elsewhere.

One final point about the middle section of the book is that it contains a substantial amount of statistics in one place. This includes opinion polling, comparisons of election results and a wide range of other data. Two minor gripes are firstly that a couple of the statistical tables are presented as 'logistic regression model' which means that the figures are presented as a number such as '0.49' which has to be multiplied by the 'standard deviation'. Unless you have an A level in statistics those tables are meaningless. Fortunately only a couple of tables have this problem but more seriously some of the charts list results of 'opinion polling' but fail to tell you the sample size. Come on, even a 'tabloid' like *The Sun* reporting a 'MORI poll' quotes the number of persons interviewed. If I had to mark

the second section of the book I would award 7/10 not least because of the range of data it provides.

Turning to the final section of the book I found this the most interesting reading. The section mainly covers what makes people join BNP (rather than just vote for it) and what makes them become 'activists'. One item that is referred to is 'collection action frames' (p155) which are described as organizing 'the experiences and perceptions of supporters', 'shaping how they define particular situations and conditions'. 'Frames render events or experiences meaningful' 'they simplify and condense often complex trends in society', 'they cultivate beliefs and meanings among supporters which legitimize their cause and inspire them to become active'. This and similar concepts such as 'survivalism' (you will all have heard Nationalist speakers speaking of population trends and stating that it is 'essential' to act today to protect our ethnic group because according to the demograph-

ics tomorrow will be too late!) are explained clearly and with good use of quotes taken from the interviews he conducted.

The final section of the book includes an index, the listing of the extensive notes and cross references to other sources and two appendices regarding 'Methodology'. It is here, on the first appendix, that I found a major flaw in his methodology. The interviews are listed by number of interviews, date and area of the country where the interview(s) were carried out. This shows that the entire analysis is based on 49 interviews with 27 activists spread over a five year period. Of these no less than four of the interviews were with N Griffin. In the later part of the period when this book was being written up, 2009-2010, BNP contested the

County Council elections and the European Elections. In those elections the Party polled nearly a million votes and had a membership of 9,000-10,000 members (NG claims more but I am using what I believe to be more reliable sources!).

To analyse such a large organisation based upon 26 activists (ignoring NG again!) seems very thin evidence. Some of those interviewed may not even have been members – both myself and Jim Lewthwaite were in fact 'expelled members' when we were interviewed. Another flaw in the interview methodology is that Goodwin interviewed only in England with only one of the interviews in the (East) Midlands – once again I am ignoring interviews in Welshpool. So in addition to virtually ignoring the Midlands, Goodwin totally ignores Scotland and Wales (he could legitimately ignore Ulster as during the interview period BNP was not registered to campaign in Ulster). Do members in the 'devolved regions' have different motivations for joining the BNP compared to members in England? After all there are other, more successful, 'Nationalist' parties in Scotland & Wales. These are relevant questions as of course the book is about the rise of the British National Party not the English National Party but Goodwin fails to explore this area.

One final comment. Jim Lewthwaite and I understand other interviewees were told that we would receive complimentary copies of Goodwin's 'paper' when he had completed his research. We are still waiting! We were interviewed in 2008. Even the BNP has managed to get its 2008 accounts submitted since then!

Reviewed by Ivan Winters, Bradford, Yorkshire

Editor's note: Dr. Jim Lewthwaite obtained the copy that Ivan reviewed from Fred Wade Booksellers (an excellent source of specialist books), 14-16 Rawson Street, Halifax, HX1 1NJ, (01422) 354400



David Exley (centre foreground) on the night of his election as BNP councillor for Heckmondwike ward, Kirklees, in 2003. He has since resigned from the party. In the background is former BNP organiser Nick Cass, now an English Democrat.



Movie Review - *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy*

Released UK – September 2011; USA – December 2011; UK distribution by Optimum Releasing; director Tomas Alfredson; running time 127 minutes; Rated 15; Not yet available on DVD.

Tomas Alfredson has bravely taken up the challenge of remaking for the cinema one of the most famous television series of all time. The 1974 novel *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* by John le Carré (pen name of former intelligence officer David Cornwell) was adapted across seven episodes by former football journalist Arthur Hopcraft for the BBC in 1979. Almost five hours of television, as against just over two hours of cinema – and the inevitable question: how could anyone follow the iconic performance of Alec Guinness as spycatcher George Smiley?

This question turns out to be a red herring. Gary Oldman portrays Smiley as a self-effacing, modest to a fault bureaucrat who becomes by default a pivotal figure in an espionage drama. For this reviewer, what his performance lacks is the subdued charisma of Guinness's Smiley, the very occasional flashes of steel behind the bumbling donnish facade.

As many readers will know, the story revolves around the hunt for a Soviet agent – a 'mole' in le Carré's jargon – who has successfully burrowed deep inside the British establishment and has become a senior officer of the Secret Intelligence Service, MI6 – fictionalised as the 'Circus'. It is 1973 and the veteran head of the Circus, known only as 'Control' (John Hurt), has deduced that his organisation is being betrayed by someone in its highest echelon. He has narrowed down a list of five suspects to whom he attaches code names drawn from an old nursery rhyme. *Tinker* is Sir Percy Alleline (Toby Jones), Control's main bureaucratic rival who has been exploiting Whitehall office politics to push him aside and grab the top job; *Tailor* is Bill Haydon (Colin Firth), brilliant Oxford graduate who maintains some of the cachet of Circus wartime glories into the less glamorous postwar decades; *Soldier* is Roy Bland (Ciarán Hinds), Haydon's social opposite but intellectual counterpart, who has worked his way up from a working class background to become an academic expert on Eastern Europe; *Poor-man* is Toby Esterhase (David Dencik), rescued from the ruins of Budapest and now the archetypal Anglophile foreigner, whose Savile Row suits and polished manners reflect efforts to be more English than the English; *Beggarman* is Control's deputy and closest friend in the Circus, George Smiley – even he is not above suspicion.

Control sends Jim Prideaux (Mark Strong), one of his most experienced field agents, behind the Iron Curtain (in the book and TV series to Czechoslovakia, in the film to Hungary) to collect conclusive evidence of the mole's identity, but the mission turns into a disaster and Control is forced to resign. Alleline takes over the Circus and Control soon dies in despair. When young Circus operative Ricki Tarr (Tom Hardy) encounters Irina (Svetlana Khodchenkova), a potential Russian defector in Istanbul who seems to confirm the 'mole' story, George Smiley is brought out of retirement to head a top secret spy hunt, assisted by Peter Guillam (Benedict Cumberbatch), a young officer who has been marginalised by the new Circus leadership. The film follows Smiley's progress in tracking down the 'mole', to whom he gives the name 'Gerald'.

I won't give away any more of the plot, except to note a few significant differences between the book/TV and cinematic versions. Two of these might be politically 'correct' adjustments. The new version of Peter Guillam turns out to be homosexual (which is definitely not the case in the earlier versions). Although the new gay angle isn't exactly positive, Guillam is at least one of the good guys – whereas the only unambiguously gay character in the 1979 TV version was a camp stereotype working at Circus headquarters. The gay/bisexual aspect of another key relationship in the drama is made a lot more blatant in the film: in the original it is certainly there, and very important, but portrayed with old-fashioned British discretion.

By contrast Toby Esterhase is in the film suggested to have been a 'nazi' collaborator, whom Smiley and Guillam threaten with deportation

back to the Soviet bloc, where he would be executed for 'war crimes'. This introduction of a nazi semi-villain is Alfredson's most obvious concession to Hollywood values, but it is a brief scene that has little to do with the rest of the film. For the most part the pervading shadow of the Second World War is a very perceptive and evocatively rendered portrayal of Britons' bewilderment at having supposedly been the heroic victors of 1945, only to enter decades of inexorable decline – so that by 1973 (when the film is set) the retired Circus analyst Connie Sachs describes her old colleagues to Smiley as: "Poor loves. Trained to Empire, trained to rule the waves. Englishmen could be proud then, George. They could. All gone. All taken away."

The Connie Sachs character (Kathy Burke) – like the whole Oxford connection – is less thoroughly explored in the film than in the book and TV adaptation. However, the essential atmosphere of 1970s Britain is well conveyed. Also very well done (and very well filmed) are the crucial scenes in the Circus archives, where Smiley dispatches Guillam to burrow in the files and retrieve crucial evidence. Having spent

hours myself in the UK National Archives studying official documents of great British intelligence disasters, I much appreciated the film's portrayal of an espionage drama that (with a couple of exceptions) is played out more via the documentary trail than through James Bond style shoot outs.

Despite le Carré / Cornwell having worked for MI6 himself, *Tinker, Tailor* does not dramatise a particular event – it is not a *roman à clef* – though it captures the atmosphere of crisis and distrust as the British military and intelligence services lurched from what they had thought were the triumphs of the Second World War, to the endless suspicion of the Cold War and the realisation of their nation's collapse. There was no precise real life equivalent of the disaster which overtakes Control at the start of the film, when he sends veteran agent Jim Prideaux into Hungary on a vital mission which goes horribly wrong. But several Chiefs of MI6 did leave under a shadow.

In some ways the closest to the fictional Prideaux catastrophe was the still unexplained death of Lionel 'Buster' Crabb in 1956. That spring the young David Cornwell (already a part time MI5 asset) was preparing for his final examinations at Lincoln College, Oxford, whose Rector – church historian Vivian Green – was to inspire the character of George Smiley.

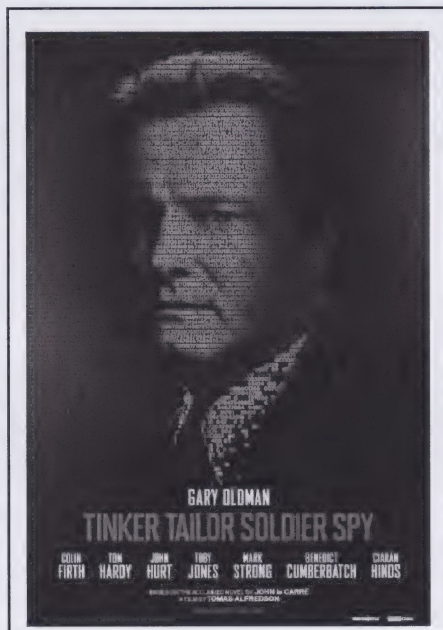
Meanwhile Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin had arrived in England for a diplomatic mission on board the Sverdlov class cruiser *Ordzhonikidze*, moored in Portsmouth harbour while its VIP passengers visited London. Files on the affair are sealed until 2057, but what we know already is that for some reason MI6 sent Crabb to dive into the harbour and examine the hull of the Soviet vessel.

Crabb had joined the Royal Navy in 1941 and became a specialist diver working on both bomb disposal and sabotage operations, some of them very sensitive. For example in July 1943 he carried out underwater investigations off Gibraltar into the wreck of the plane that had been carrying Polish leader General Sikorski, a mystery examined in David Irving's 1967 book *Accident: The Death of General Sikorski*.

During 1947 Crabb had worked on top secret MI6 missions to sabotage ships chartered by the Zionist terror group Irgun, carrying illegal Jewish immigrants into Palestine.

By 1956 Crabb was 47 years old and retired from the Navy, but had been re-employed by MI6 for special missions. As with the fictional Jim Prideaux, it was later said that he was too old for this type of work, but it can be assumed that he was chosen because he was thought of as reliable, due to his experience of top secret operations. Another dive a year earlier by Crabb and a Navy colleague had investigated the hull of the Soviet cruiser, *Sverdlov*. It might be that in each case MI6 simply wanted to know more about the design of the ship's propeller, though many other theories, including a possible sabotage mission, have been mentioned.

Whatever the truth behind the mission, this time it turned into a disaster. After diving into Portsmouth harbour on the night of 19th April 1956,





(left to right) Gary Oldman as molehunter George Smiley in the new film *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*; Kim Philby, the real life equivalent of the film's mole 'Gerald', seen here confronting the press in 1955; Victor Lord Rothschild, close friend of Philby and the other Cambridge spies; Flora Solomon, Marks & Spencer executive and leading Zionist, whose meeting with Rothschild in Tel Aviv in 1962 led to Philby's exposure; Arnold Deutsch, KGB officer who controlled the Cambridge spy ring during the 1930s; Teddy Kollek, long serving Mayor of Jerusalem, who headed the Jewish Agency's spy operations during the 1930s and 1940s and attended Philby's 1934 wedding to Viennese communist Litzl Friedmann.

Crabb was never seen again. Fourteen months later a body in a diving suit was found floating in the sea, minus hands and head. It was assumed to be Crabb's, due to a scar on the knee, but ministers and government spokesmen were briefed to deceive the media with stories about supposed work on experimental mines in a nearby bay.

The real life 'Control' at the time of the Crabb affair was Sir John 'Sinbad' Sinclair, a former Major-General in charge of military intelligence during World War II who had led MI6 for the past four years. Like 'Control' he retired under the shadow of an operational disaster, and the real life case was in fact worse, not only because Crabb (unlike Prideaux) died, but because by operating within British waters MI6 had exceeded its remit and trespassed on the territory of its sister service MI5.

Unlike 'Control', Sir John did not die in disgrace but lived for another twenty years, dying aged 79 in March 1977, three years after publication of *Tinker, Tailor*. Yet his era in MI6 was indeed overshadowed by the security obsessions that form the background to le Carré's story: the penetration of the intelligence and security services by long term agents – 'moles' – working for the Soviet agencies KGB and GRU.

The closest parallel to the fictional mole 'Gerald' was the infamous story of the 'Cambridge Spies', which by coincidence hit the headlines again soon after the broadcast of the *Tinker, Tailor* television series in 1979, when respected art historian and Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, Sir Anthony Blunt was revealed to have been a Soviet mole inside MI5.

Blunt was the 'fourth man' in the Cambridge spy ring. The first two to be uncovered were his friends Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, who fled to the Soviet Union in 1951. Burgess had been an MI6 officer from 1938 to 1940 and had later (despite his alcoholism and blatant homosexuality) been re-employed by the Foreign Office, where he worked as personal assistant to Foreign Office minister Hector McNeill from 1946 to 1948 – the crucial years of the early Cold War, when he had access to many of Britain's most important secrets. After a short spell with the top secret Information Research Department, which handled anti-Soviet propaganda and disinformation, Burgess was transferred to the British Embassy in Washington in 1950, where he specialised in Far Eastern affairs and would have had access to Anglo-American secrets related to the Korean War.

Maclean had joined the Foreign Office immediately after graduation from Cambridge in 1934, and he became one of the leading specialists in Anglo-American liaison as First Secretary at the British Embassy in Washington from 1944 to 1948. He was then transferred to the British Embassy in Cairo, serving as Head of Chancery from 1948 to 1950 with access to the secrets of Britain's attitude to the new state of Israel. In May 1950 Maclean (who like Burgess had severe alcohol problems) was transferred back to London, where he took charge of the American department of the Foreign Office, five months before Burgess left for Washington.

The third member of the Cambridge spy ring had already been based in Washington since September 1949 as the chief MI6 representative in the United States. This was Kim Philby, the most obvious real life equivalent to the *Tinker, Tailor* mole 'Gerald'.

Philby had worked officially with the British secret services since 1940, though his previous employment as a *Times* correspondent no doubt brought him into discreet contact with Whitehall agencies. After initial work with the sabotage and propaganda agency SOE, Philby was recruited by MI6 and made rapid progress through the ranks of the wartime service, taking over as head of the counter-intelligence Section V in 1944. From

1947 to 1949 he was head of MI6 operations in Istanbul, where he oversaw the disastrous attempt to infiltrate anti-communist commandos into Albania, before taking the plum job in Washington.

Like his Cambridge friends Burgess and Maclean, Philby had been working secretly for the Russians throughout his career. A slightly older Cambridge friend was the art historian Anthony Blunt, and it is still uncertain exactly which of the group was recruited first. During the first year of the war Blunt worked for British military intelligence in France, but soon after his evacuation in the spring of 1940 he joined MI5, where he rose to become personal assistant to deputy director-general Guy Liddell.

Blunt's mission to Germany at the very end of the war is still mysterious, but was in some way related to protecting the secrets of the British Royal Family. He was sent to Schloss Friedrichshof, the palace near Frankfurt which had been built for Queen Victoria's daughter (also named Victoria) soon after the death of her husband Frederick, who had been Kaiser of Germany for just 99 days in 1888 – the 'Year of the Three Emperors'.

More than four thousand letters between Queen Victoria and her daughter were stored at the Schloss, and the British Royal Family was concerned that these might fall into the wrong hands. More serious still were other letters thought to be at the Schloss, written to its owner Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse by the former King Edward VIII, who had been deposed from the British throne in 1936 and as Duke of Windsor had corresponded with numerous influential Germans. The Landgrave had been a leading national socialist since 1930 and had served in the SA. Though towards the end of the war he had parted company with Hitler, his letters from the Duke were bound to have been embarrassing for the Royal Family.

So not only was Blunt in a position to betray MI5's secrets to the Soviets, he could also keep them informed about the most sensitive aspects of the British establishment's attitude to national socialism. Soon after the end of the war Blunt retired from MI5 and joined the Royal Household as Surveyor of the King's (later Queen's) Pictures, knighted in 1956 and retaining this role even after his confession to former MI5 colleagues in 1964. Blunt was not openly disgraced and stripped of his honours until 1979.

The fifth member of the ring was John Cairncross, who like three of the others was an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, but had a distinctly less privileged background and probably worked entirely separately from the so-called 'ring'. Burgess was an Old Etonian and the son of a naval commander; Maclean's father was the former government minister and Liberal Party leader Sir Donald Maclean; Philby was son of the legendary explorer and spy St John Philby, adviser to Ibn Saud, founder of Saudi Arabia; while Blunt was the cousin of Queen Elizabeth (later the Queen Mother), and son of a well-connected clergyman.

Cairncross by contrast was from a small town in Scotland, where his father managed an ironmonger's and his mother was a teacher. Nevertheless he attended Hamilton Academy, one of Scotland's most prestigious schools, and went on to be an outstandingly brilliant student at Glasgow and Cambridge. After several years as a high flying civil servant, Cairncross served with MI6 during the war and at the Bletchley Park code breaking centre, where he was able to inform his Soviet controllers of detailed intelligence that allowed the Russians to win the Battle of Kursk, the greatest tank battle in history.

In *Tinker, Tailor* the mole 'Gerald' is unmasked by George Smiley's patient pursuit of a trail of evidence that begins with the tip-off given to junior Circus officer Ricki Tarr by a disillusioned Russian, Irina, who is taken back to Moscow in bandages after falling under suspicion. A par-

allel incident occurred at the very end of the war, in August 1945, when Konstantin Volkov (a KGB officer in Istanbul) offered to sell information to MI6 including the identities of three senior Russian agents in Britain. Philby realised that these were himself and Burgess and Maclean. As in the film, he ensured that MI6 delayed for long enough to allow the KGB to kidnap Volkov, bandaged like the fictional Irina. However, real life was a lot less romantic than the film. Where Irina had delusions of a new life in Scotland with Ricki Tarr, Volkov just wanted cash – and a lot of it.

After this close call in 1945, the real life downfall of the Cambridge spies began with Soviet documents decrypted under what is now known as the 'Venona' project. Between 1942 and 1948 thousands of Soviet messages which were supposed to be sent using a virtually unbreakable 'one time pad' system were instead encrypted using duplicate pads, a still mysterious security breach by the Soviets which allowed Anglo-American analysts to begin the painstaking process of breaking their codes, eventually being able to read several thousand secret communications.

Among these were messages that referred to a Soviet agent codenamed 'Homer', and investigators narrowed down his identity to a list of nine suspects. Ironically one of the few colleagues trusted by the FBI agents in charge of the Venona decrypts was their MI6 liaison Kim Philby. So in 1950 Philby realised that Maclean was going to be exposed. By now Maclean was working in London, but Burgess was working (and lodging) with Philby in Washington. A scheme was concocted for Burgess to disgrace himself by getting drunk and assaulting a Virginia traffic policeman, so that he would be transferred back to London, where he could alert Maclean to his imminent exposure and arrange his escape.

Over lunch at the Reform Club Burgess told Maclean that the game was up. Probably in consultation with Blunt, they made their escape plans and fled to Moscow, via a ferry to France, on 25th May 1951. Their old comrades Philby and Blunt inevitably came under suspicion. (In fact the British authorities had received a tip-off about Blunt the previous year from the exiled Russian aristocrat Moura Budberg, whose great-great-nephew Nick Clegg is now Deputy Prime Minister.)

Blunt was repeatedly interrogated but denied everything, until he was positively identified in 1963 as a secret communist by his old Cambridge comrade Michael Whitney Straight, an American socialite and publisher. He confessed to MI5 the following year and was given immunity from prosecution.

Since Burgess had escaped with Maclean, and had previously been Philby's lodger in Washington, Philby was inevitably suspected. He resigned from MI6 in the summer of 1951, but maintained his innocence. MI6 chief Sir Stewart Menzies retired the following year, and throughout the early 1950s it suited the British establishment to avoid any public *post mortem* into the affair. However in 1955 political and media pressure forced the first public confirmation of the Cambridge spy scandal.

While MI6 was happy to let the sleeping Philby story lie, MI5 and their American equivalents in the FBI were not. The defection of KGB officer Vladimir Petrov in Australia in 1954 led to new information about the Cambridge spies and pressure for an inquiry. Broad hints that a mysterious 'third man' was behind the Burgess-Maclean disappearance appeared in a long article by Milton Berliner for the *Washington Daily News*. A British journalist – Jack Fishman, editor of the *Empire News* – was then given Philby's name by his MI5 and FBI contacts, and he in turn told the *New York Daily News*. Unconstrained by British libel laws or the Official Secrets Act, the New York paper identified Philby on 23rd October 1955.

Once this was in the public domain the story was instantly picked up by Marcus Lipton, Labour MP for Brixton, who had taken the lead in pursuing aspects of the Cambridge spy case, especially after Petrov's defection when his information about Burgess and Maclean was leaked to the British *People* newspaper in September 1955. Lipton had strongly criticised the British government's attempt to cover up the full implications of the affair in a hurried and bland White Paper. Using parliamentary privilege (the convention that statements within Parliament are immune from legal action and can be reported by newspapers without fear of libel cases), two days after the *New York Daily News* story Lipton asked Prime Minister Anthony Eden: "Have you made up your mind to cover up at all costs the dubious third-man activities of Mr Harold Philby, who was first secretary of the Washington Embassy a little while ago?"

The Prime Minister ignored the reference to Philby, but journalists in Britain and America had been tipped off in advance and gave Lipton's allegations wide publicity. Foreign Secretary Harold Macmillan had to make

a further parliamentary statement on 7th November in which he unambiguously exonerated Philby: "I have no reason to conclude that Mr Philby has at any time betrayed the interests of this country, or to identify him with the so-called 'third man', if, indeed, there was one."

During that 7th November debate Lipton continued to press ministers, but was himself challenged to produce his evidence against Philby, whose old MI6 colleague Dick Brooman-White (by now a Tory MP) rallied to his defence: "Has that name been mentioned outside the House in this country in any circumstances which would leave the way open for legal action by the man who has been smeared?"

Philby himself then staged an audacious press conference before dozens of journalists at his mother's South Kensington flat, calling on Lipton to repeat his allegations outside parliamentary privilege or back down. His bluff called, Lipton "unreservedly" retracted his accusations on 10th November. The matter appeared to be closed, at least so far as the public was concerned. The following year Philby moved to Beirut, where he worked as a journalist for *The Observer* and *The Economist*, and maintained continuing connections with MI6.

For six years the Cambridge spy case appeared to be drifting quietly into history. But at the end of 1961 KGB officer Anatoli Golitsyn defected in Helsinki, claiming to have information about a large number of Soviet agents in the West, including Philby, though his evidence was inconclusive. While American and British officials were analysing Golitsyn's claims, the final moves in the Philby case began at a cocktail party in Tel Aviv in August 1962. The eminent scientist and former MI5 officer Lord Rothschild fell into conversation with Flora Solomon, a former Marks & Spencer executive, who supposedly told him that Philby had tried to recruit her to be a Soviet agent during the 1930s.

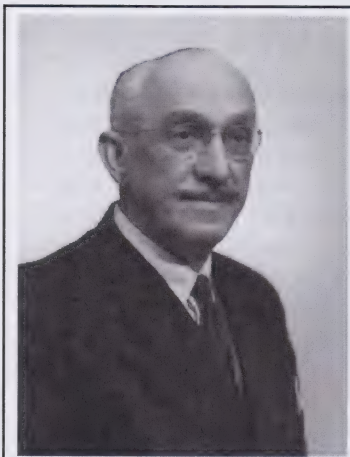
This was how the real life 'Gerald' was finally unmasked – not via a dramatic shoot-out in Eastern Europe and a romantic liaison between a young MI6 officer and a would-be Russian defector, but in a conversation between two of the world's most influential Zionists at a Tel Aviv cocktail party. On his return to London, Rothschild went to see Sir Dick White (the real-life 'Control' of MI6 from 1956 to 1968) and the Philby case was immediately reopened. He then called in MI5's molehunters, who questioned Mrs Solomon. Philby's old friend Nicholas Elliott, who was still a senior MI6 officer (and coincidentally had been in charge of the 'Buster' Crabb operation referred to earlier) was sent to Beirut just before Christmas 1962 to confront him and obtain a confession.

We may never know whether MI6 aimed to offer Philby immunity from prosecution, so as to gain his co-operation in revealing full details of Soviet intelligence operations, or whether the intention was always to provoke his flight to Moscow and ensure that no more awkward questions had to be pursued. A few days before another scheduled meeting with Elliott, Philby disappeared from Beirut on the night of 23rd January 1963. It was confirmed six months later that he had defected to Moscow and that he had indeed been a Soviet agent for the past thirty years.

But neither the fictional nor historical accounts of the Cambridge spies choose to concentrate on other hidden forces behind Philby's recruitment (and eventual exposure). Ironically Harold Macmillan's 1955 statement to Parliament (usually seen as part of an attempted whitewash) offers a good starting point: "To understand – though not, of course, to excuse – this story, it is necessary to cast our minds back to the 1930s and to recall the kind of background against which the two principal characters grew up. At that time all kinds of violent opinions were being expressed. ... This had a particularly disturbing effect upon young people, many of whom, we remember, thought it their duty actually to take part in these fierce revolutionary struggles."

Kim Philby's first close contact with Soviet agents was among Jewish refugees in Vienna, not downtrodden workers in the dockyards of the Clyde, nor among the marches of unemployed from Jarrow, nor in the mining valleys of South Wales. It is at least arguable that he initially saw himself more as an "anti-fascist" agent than as a Soviet agent. Soon after his graduation in 1933 he moved to Vienna, where in February 1934 he married his first wife Litzi Friedmann, who was already deeply involved in espionage work among Jewish communists and their fellow travellers.

Very much in this category at the time – and a guest at the Philby-Friedmann wedding – was one of the most intriguing characters of 20th century Zionism: Teddy Kollek, son of a Rothschild bank executive. Named after his parents' hero Theodor Herzl, Kollek was then approaching his 23rd birthday and was already becoming an important player in the Zionist underground. By the end of the 1930s he was travelling around Europe as



Labour MP and Zionist Marcus Lipton denounced Kim Philby as a Soviet agent in 1955.

co-ordinator of the Jewish Agency's intelligence operations, and these eventually included still mysterious deals with national socialist officials to allow illegal immigration of European Jews into Palestine.

In 2007 partially declassified British government records revealed that Kollek was 'Agent Scorpion': the most important source for MI6 and later MI5 operations against Jewish terrorist groups. British agencies became heavily dependent on Kollek, whose collaboration with the British was authorised by future Israeli prime minister David Ben Gurion. It is now known that as the relationship between Zionism and the British waxed and waned, the leadership of the Jewish Agency shifted between

Chaim Weizmann's traditional Anglophilia – which implied informing against more militant Jews in the Irgun and Stern Gang – and the opposite policy of actually uniting with these terrorist groups against the British.

Similarly on the broader international stage, Zionists shifted their ideological and diplomatic alignments as circumstances dictated. Theodor Herzl himself at the turn of the century had shuttled between European capitals seeking endorsement for his dream of a Jewish national home from anyone who would listen. As late as 1917 it was uncertain whether international Jewish support would swing behind Britain or Germany.

During the 1920s and 1930s it is arguable that the most important communist espionage networks were fundamentally under Jewish control rather than Soviet control – which partly explains why Stalin was often suspicious of what his most important spies were telling him, even when it turned out to be the truth. In 1937 (and then again after 1948) Stalin turned against his former Jewish allies in great purges of the Soviet bureaucracy, including the intelligence services, which have been reassessed recently by Russian historian Andrei Burovsky.

Just as Jewish Agency leaders shifted between informing against the Stern Gang and cooperating with them, in the mid-1940s they managed to convince both the USA and the Soviet Union to support the United Nations vote in favour of creating Israel. However from 1948 on there was a determined effort to convince the West (in particular the Anglo-American intelligence establishment) that the new Jewish state was reliably in the anti-Communist camp.

Teddy Kollek himself was supposedly one of the first to raise suspicions about Philby in September 1950, during a private meeting at the CIA headquarters with James Jesus Angleton, Mossad's closest Langley ally who had himself been a friend of Philby's. He thus joined a list of fellow Jews who either recruited the Cambridge spies or took the lead in denouncing them. **Litzi Friedmann**, Philby's first wife and first contact with international espionage; **Edith Tudor Hart**, Litzi's friend and key intermediary for spy rings at Cambridge and Oxford; **Arnold Deutsch**, first KGB controller of the Cambridge spies; **Flora Solomon**, daughter of one of Tsarist Russia's leading bankers and **Victor, Lord Rothschild**, who were close friends of the Cambridge spies from their student days, but were eventually responsible for Philby's final denunciation in 1962; journalists **Milton Berliner** and **Jack Fishman**, who started the press campaign against Philby in 1955; and **Marcus Lipton**, prominent Zionist and Labour MP who in 1947 had been used by Zionist intelligence as part of the propaganda campaign against Roy Farran, and was again deployed to denounce Philby using Parliamentary privilege in 1955.

Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy captures the essential futility not just of the intelligence world, but of the British Empire itself – or at least of what was left of that imperial project by the mid-20th century. John Hurt's performance as 'Control' is especially effective in encapsulating what Dean Acheson infamously defined as a nation that "had lost an Empire and had not yet found a role". As Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin himself put it during a secret Cabinet discussion of Britain's plight as a consequence of war debts: "We are in Shylock's hands".

Reviewed by Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

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John Tyndall Memorial Meeting 2011

Seventy Nationalists from a variety of political formations and tendencies gathered in the old English city of Preston, Lancashire, on 8th October for the Sixth Annual John Tyndall Memorial Meeting. The commemoration was hosted by *Heritage and Destiny* magazine.

'JT', as he was affectionately known by his many followers and admirers, was a former chairman of the National Front, the founder of the British National Party, and the foremost racial nationalist leader of the modern era.

Among the organizations represented at the memorial were (in alphabetical order): A.K. Chesterton Trust, Blood & Honour, British Movement, British National Party, British People's Party, Democratic Nationalists, England First Party, National Front, National Socialist Movement-Britannia, and North West Nationalists (sorry if I've missed any out).

The meeting was chaired by long-time movement activist and assistant editor of *Heritage and Destiny* magazine Peter Rushton. Mr. Rushton was a good friend and comrade of John Tyndall, and he spoke movingly of JT's dedication to the cause and of his soul-stirring abilities as an orator.

The meeting started with a minute's silence in memory of JT, his wife Valerie, Ian Hague, Les Andrews and Dave Hannam (and all other nationalist comrades who had passed away since last year's meeting).

Peter Rushton then read out a letter from Andrew Brons MEP, who unfortunately was unable to attend the meeting.

James Lewthwaite, an Orangeman and former archaeology lecturer, who was an elected BNP councillor from Bradford City Council (2004-2007) and was a co-founder of the Democratic Nationalists (2008) spoke on the continuing potential for nationalist politics from voters who have lost faith with mainstream politics, but who have not been reached by nationalist electoral strategies so far. He argued that it would be no bad thing for post-Griffin nationalism to move away from the cult of the leader. So long as different nationalist parties do not stand against each other, it will even be possible in the short term for different parties to be standing in local elections in different regions, provided their approach is tuned to the political wavelength of those areas.

Second up was Dave Jones, the Campaigns Officer and Nominating Officer of the British People's Party (BPP). Dave has been BPP local election candidate for Todmorden ward on Calderdale Borough Council for the last two years. Dave Jones spoke about his success in promoting an honest appeal to local voters in his town, on the Lancashire-Yorkshire border. "Anti-fascists" who sought to mobilise against him had been swiftly sent packing, since they were seen by locals as outsiders trying

ing to impose an alien political agenda. Dave was pleased to announce that he was now co-operating with Christian Jackson, former BNP regional organiser and now an official of the National Front, in producing propaganda for Todmorden voters. This example of cross-party nationalist cooperation was warmly applauded by the meeting audience.

The third speaker was Paul Ballard, former organizer for the Croydon NF and BNP, former publisher of *The Rune* magazine and co-defendant in the infamous Harrow Race Trial, in the 1990s. Mr. Ballard is a leading campaigner for jailed 'thought criminals' across the UK and Europe. He spoke on the continuing persecution of Bishop Richard Williamson, who was thrown out of Argentina and is still being prosecuted in the German courts after being set up by Swedish television journalists at the end of 2008. Bishop Williamson has promoted traditional Catholic teaching, following the example of the founder of the Society of St Pius X, Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, but has found that modern Europe seeks to demonise, marginalise and criminalise those traditional values and ideas which were central to European civilisation for almost two millennia.

Next up was Tony Justice a last minute replacement speaker for Andrew Brons MEP. Tony – a former squaddie who served in the King's Own Royal Border Regiment and the Ulster Defence Regiment – spoke on his experiences in Ulster and of his support for the Loyalist cause. He explained about being fooled by the English Democrats – whom he had joined three years ago – and whom he thought were genuine nationalists. He quit the EDs earlier this year after discovering their links and support for the Republican movement in general and IRA/Sinn Féin in particular. Tony spoke from the heart and without notes and was very well received by the audience.

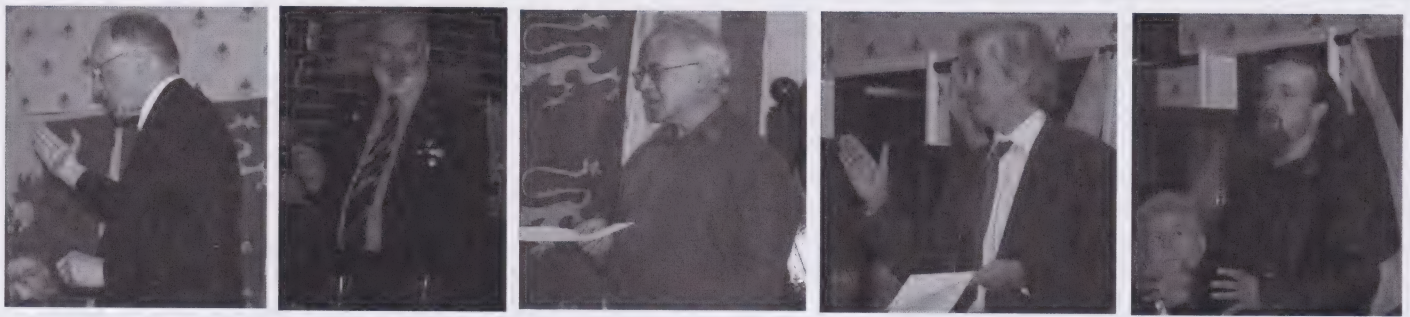
After Tony Justice's talk, Chairman Peter Rushton announced a break, during which the audience enjoyed a generous buffet and browsed the many nationalist literature and merchandise stalls including *Candour* / AK Chesterton Trust; British People's Party; British Movement; Bradford Nationalists; Historical Review Press and *Heritage and Destiny*.

Peter Barker was the first speaker up after the break. An ex-soldier with the Royal Engineers, Peter served in Ulster and Germany. He was the former BNP regional press officer for the North West and was an NF and BNP organizer for Rochdale. He is also the founder of the North West Nationalists website and later blog <http://northwestnationalists.blogspot.com>. Like others at the meeting, he has been expelled from the BNP for opposing the policies of Nick Griffin. He began by speaking of his memories of dealing with Gerry Adams at the Maze Prison in the mid-1970s. It was after Mr Barker's experiences in Ulster that he had become an active nationalist, and he reminded the



(above) Former NW England BNP press officer and Rochdale organiser Pete Barker of Northwest Nationalists addresses the 2011 John Tyndall Memorial Meeting (below) Seventy nationalists from across factional and regional divides gathered for the meeting in Preston, Lancashire. H&D editor Mark Cotterill (bottom left) organised the event, and British Army veteran Tony Justice (bottom right) spoke about the betrayal of Ulster.





(left to right) Speakers at the 2011 John Tyndall Memorial Meeting included Richard Edmonds, former national organiser of the BNP; Dr Jim Lewthwaite, ex-BNP councillor and co-founder of the Democratic Nationalists; Paul Ballard, former publisher of *The Rune* magazine and campaigner for imprisoned 'thought criminals'; Peter Rushton, assistant editor of *Heritage and Destiny*; and Dave Jones, British People's Party campaigns officer

meeting of the great work of Ken Henderson in building up the BNP in the North West region – at great cost to his health, in those days of militant “anti-fascist” opposition. Mr Barker believed that the attendance at today’s meeting of so many representatives from different tendencies in the nationalist movement was a very positive indication of the progress that is possible for post-Griffin nationalism.

The next speaker was meeting chairman Peter Rushton, who in 2002 became one of the first BNP members purged by Griffin. Mr. Rushton is an assistant editor of *Heritage and Destiny*, a co-founder of the England First Party, and founder and editor of www.jailingopinions.com. Mr. Rushton began with a tribute to John Tyndall, who had faced both triumph and disaster during his decades of nationalist leadership. The present crisis of the movement is worse than anything that has gone before, since the BNP leadership is about to be exposed for gross dishonesty – not political “thought crimes” but fraud and financial malpractice on a huge scale.

Mr Rushton insisted however that none of this changed the fundamental political realities, especially the betrayal of our race and nation by the unscrupulous establishment parties. A large section of his speech was devoted to exposing the traditional lie that our nation had always been a “mongrel nation” built on immigration. He ended with an appeal for all leading nationalists to commit themselves to the reunification of the post-Griffin movement, since the real divide in nationalism is not between different ideological positions or personal rivals, but between a tiny gang of crooks in the leadership of the BNP and the vast majority of decent and committed nationalists in the ranks of the BNP and many other parties and groups.

The keynote speaker of the day was former BNP national organiser Richard Edmonds. Richard was one of John Tyndall’s most loyal friends and supporters over thirty years. He was proprietor of the famous BNP bookshop in Welling from 1989 to 1999 and served on the national advisory council of the BNP from 2008 to 2010. Mr Edmonds remains a member of the BNP, but has also recently joined the National Front, where he will work towards nationalist unity following the self-destruction of the BNP leadership clique. He told the meeting of the appalling decline of our nation, reminding the audience that as early as 1959 the Conservative Party had pledged to halt immigration, but had treacherously presided over half a century of racial transformation that has left our towns and cities unrecognisable. Five teenagers each day are now stabbed or shot on the streets of London. The answer was to stop immigration and start repatriation. Mr Edmonds concluded that today’s meeting had produced a determined spirit of unity, in contrast to the poison that has dominated the higher echelons of the BNP for the last decade.

After Mr. Edmonds’ impressive speech, there was a “booze and book” Raffle. Twenty items had been donated to the meeting by various comrades and were raffled off. The lucky winners received both a bottle and a book. Finally, a football scratch card was won by Liverpool Nationalist activist Peter Tierney, who kindly donated his winnings back to help defray the costs of the event!

At the conclusion, meeting steward Ken Shapcott of Burnley spoke from the audience, thanking the speakers and the meeting chairman

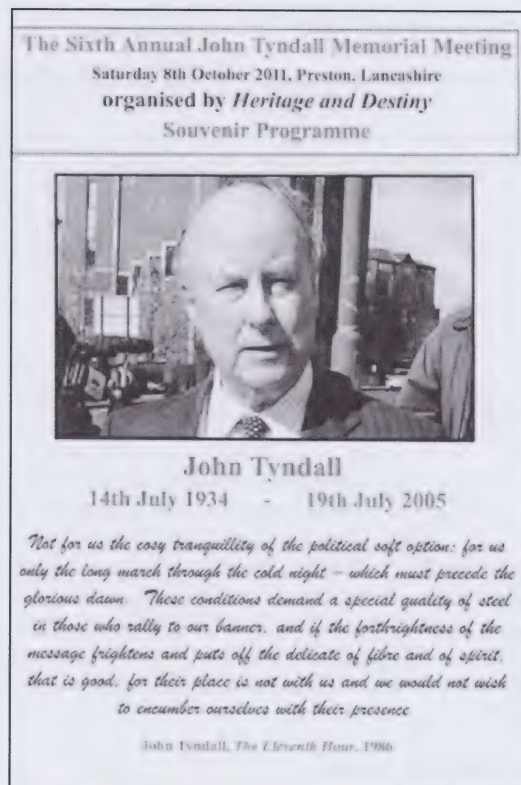
for making this year’s memorial a success. I spoke last, and thanked everyone for their participation and attendance – including two serving members of the British Armed Forces just back from Afghanistan – and looked forward to seeing them again at future gatherings. I also thanked those comrades who could not attend, but who still supported the event by sending in donations to help with the organisational costs.

After the meeting ended around twenty comrades stayed on for a social which went onto the wee small hours of the following morning! So all in all a very successful and enjoyable day. If you could not attend this year, then make sure you come to next year’s John Tyndall Memorial Meeting, you won’t be disappointed.

Mark Cotterill, Preston, Lancashire

Editor's Note. Peter Rushton's speech and Andrew Brons letter can be read in full on the England First website - www.efp.org.uk

Thanks to Andrew Brons MEP we were able to produce a special Souvenir Programme for the occasion, expertly printed on quality paper. Copies of the programme are still available for £5.00 or \$10.00 (including postage) from: Heritage and Destiny, 40 Birkett Drive, Preston, PR2 6HE. Or online by PayPal at - www.efp.org.uk



Letters From Readers



Sir - It is sad to see the party that John Tyndall founded in its present state. How the rulers of Britain love chaos among the opposition. When the threshold was reached for two MEPs the silencers had a problem. Obviously the rot was in before then, but the ruling clique want you out of politics entirely. Now they see the break-up. It is so bad that people can't put their race before everything else, especially among patriots.

Whatever arises from the grave of the BNP it must have race at its core and this must never be watered down. Survival is all. It takes years to build a party - what a waste. I will be thinking of JT and his like-minded successors on the day of the memorial meeting.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Paulin, Romford, Essex



Sir - All the best to White loyalists in England. We heard horrific things about London and other cities nowadays. I like England: I think England the cradle of culture and literature. No more immigrants to England and all immigrants go home from England! We run a strong schools programme - we collect books and magazines for Hungarian schools in English, German, Spanish, French and other languages.

Can you please help our work by sending us issues of *Heritage and Destiny* magazine to spread to Hungarian schools, also books such as: *The Origin of the English Nation* by Prof. H. Munro Chadwick, or *Ecology and Evolution* by Dr Roger Pearson, or *The Indo-Europeans* by Prof. Jean Haudry, or others. Thank you very much for your help: we build together a strong White Europe! No more Brothers' War!

Comradely Greetings

Viktor Macska, Vác, Hungary



Sir - The Marxist Negri is now saying that socialists have had to struggle in places which were "hostile". If like experience for job offers, you need fame to gain a speaking invite, then who gives out the chances to gain that fame? Or do no colleges invite someone unless they already have fame? Is it just an anti-popular contempt for what others may have to say, or do modern places now believe that no method exists which can give each "student" a fair chance to dissent when the rest gang up? Might Irish Free Speech Movement Chair Vincent Lavery, who writes to the *Irish Times* (30/11/2011) - answer such questions for readers of *H&D*.

Yours sincerely,

Jamie Begg (1980-84 Durrington High School) Worthing, West Sussex

Editor's Note: Mr Lavery and his colleagues wrote to the Irish Times after the Philosophical Society at Trinity College, Dublin, "one of the most prestigious debating societies in the world" was forced to cancel an invitation to Nick Griffin after threats of violence from the usual "anti-nazi" suspects. The Irish Free Speech Movement suggests that Mr Griffin should be re-invited, and we agree. Incidentally, our offer to Mr Griffin remains open for a right of reply in H&D!



Sir - I met the young John Bean when he stood as a candidate for the original British National Party in my beloved Southall in West London. This is where it had all begun of course: Sikhs brought from the Punjab in the mid-'50s. I was a teenager then, back in the early '60s. The rest is history.

Griffin for all his faults - and they are clearly many - did make the patriotic right electable. Whatever view you may hold (racial, civic nationalist, whatever) without "power" they are worthless. If the likes of Dennis Skinner can live inside New Labour, then surely patriots can live together and prosper. Of one thing we did learn from Jim Dowson: there is an enormous amount of money to be gathered for a successful united patriotic party of the right.

Good luck,

Bill Morton, Hounslow, London



Sir - I am appalled by an article published in the latest issue of the Royal British Legion magazine informing its readers that the RAF has been "recognized as a 'Top 100' employer for lesbian, gay and bisexual people in the UK". That this news should be given such prominence is disturbing. I can only assume that the editor feels he has to be seen to be 'politically correct'. It is outrageous that these aberrant and perverse people should be recruited at a time when so many normal and loyal personnel in the armed forces are being made redundant. The article also describes how service people participated in the recent 'Pride Parade' in London, even including a photograph showing uniformed airmen on the parade.

Even more disquieting, the article quotes a message from David Cameron to the parade organizers and participants, telling them, "Your presence sends a very strong and clear signal about the type of society we are..." It certainly does. It tells us what sort of decadent society we are fast becoming under the amoral politicians who rule us. It also tells us much about the Prime Minister: one who has no qualms about supporting the perverted practices of sodomites, while simultaneously proclaiming that he and his sleazy colleagues are in favour of supporting hard-working families - presumably, it would seem, including so-called 'same-sex families'.

Whatever is happening to our country? The recruitment of homosexuals in the armed forces is an insult to thousands of past and present service personnel. When I joined the RAF aged seventeen, any vestige of homosexual activity was a court-martial offence, and rightly so, because it protected youngsters from the attentions of any predatory older men with whom they had to live in close proximity.

With so many of our politicians having 'come out of the closet' in recent years, it is not surprising that there now exists a powerful pro-'gay' lobby within parliament and the upper echelons of society. Politicians have recently been waxing loud about the 'something for nothing society'. They should turn their attention to the 'anything goes society'.

Yours sincerely,

Ronald G W Rickcord, Newport Pagnell, England.



Sir - The biggest difference between the nationalist Right and Liberal-Left, is most starkly illustrated in the glorious expression, 'more coming in, than going out'. The Right wants as little as possible going out, so that they don't need to ask for much coming in. But the Left in contrast, automatically increase what is going out, without a thought as to how to get it coming in, (in any sustainable manner).

So their first instinct is to hide the reality away. They know that they have no chance of getting elected, if they had to own up to what needs to come in, to pay for all the bribes, so, only when the country can afford it, do they get in. Once in, they hide all the costs under the carpet, until their excuse is shown to be ridiculous, then they are forced kicking and screaming out of office, blaming everyone and everything for their shortcomings. And that is the main reason why the left in power, is always a disaster. It also goes a long way, to explain what has been going wrong in Europe over the years. How much of Europe's present problems can be traced back to the methods used by the (undemocratic) leftwing liberal establishment across Europe: the deceit about the logical consequences of the project, that's how only by becoming completely undemocratic could it ever possibly work. The only reason the Left are so in love with all things European, is because they can get from Europe,

what they can't get from their own electorate (permanent control). So screw democracy. For God, King And European Union (Doesn't Have The Same Ring To It!)

Best Regards,

Harold Rogers, Minehead, Devon



Sir - I do not know whether Peter Rushton coined the term or not, but I approve and applaud his use of the new word "**Ziocon**" ("Zionist Conservative") in *H&D* 46 (p.17). "**Ziocon**" is certainly an improvement over the Politically Correct "**Neocon**" ("Neo-Conservative"). It is the Zionist ideology of these faux-conservatives that drives their agenda, not any desire to conserve the traditional values of

the West. Whatever side of the pond they are on, let them be identified for what they truly are: enemies and traitors!

Yours sincerely

Martin Kerr, Falls Church, Virginia

Peter Rushton replies: Even I'm not sure whether I invented the term Ziocon or not! The present British Ambassador to Israel certainly seems to fall into this category, and Labour MP Paul Flynn got into terrible trouble for pointing out the conflict of loyalty. Mr Flynn may even be expelled from his party for his frankness but it does seem extraordinary that one can be an official of the U.S. State Department or a British Ambassador while having a fundamental loyalty to another country. See the England First Party website at www.efp.org.uk for updates on the story of Ambassador Matthew Gould.



Sir - If you think you have it bad in the UK, you should see what we are having to put up with Stateside. Growing pressures for massive social strife continue to mount. Never before in modern history has the potential for major U.S. upheavals been as pronounced. If you think the 1960s rioting, radicalism, and mayhem were sights to behold, what appears to be heading at us is nothing

less than a category 5 storm.

You see, we have all been raised in an environment of relative social stability – especially as compared to any honest assessment of human history or other regions of the globe today. With 20% of the men ages 18-55 unemployed, and 45 million people on food stamps, a dangerous entitlement mentality grips much of the nation – and with it a rise in frustration-driven violence. The threat of social breakdown is on a level that most people are not fully aware, much less psychologically prepared for, and much less being actually prepared.

It's been clear since the dot.com crash that a monetary crisis literally decades in the making is upon us. After weathering numerous destructive economic bubbles blown up by Uncle Sam's money printing games, today it is the swollen welfare state itself that has become the ultimate bubble. Excessive, unsustainable, corrupt, and dysfunctional; and soon, in the form of a cash-flow crisis of epic proportions.

A profound federal funding crisis is still unfathomable to most, especially in terms of the group-think that passes for awareness these days. But the hard reality is that 40 cents of each federal dollar spent is pure debt and there are no proposals – even the so-called "radical" Republican Ryan plan – that do any more than scratch the surface of the problem. The U.S. political system is at such a high state of dysfunction right now that only a truly scary dollar crisis can stop – much less reverse – the federal spending juggernaut. This is why the spreading global debt crisis, a downgrade in U.S. creditworthiness, and new high-level Chinese warnings that they are abandoning U.S. Treasury obligations are such ominous developments.

Whatever the trigger that ultimately exposes Uncle Sam's deeply embedded Ponzi financing, tens of millions of angry people who expect a great deal from you and me (the middle-class) are going to suddenly be on their own. Unlike during the Great Depression, where many people had ties to farming and society was generally more self-reliant, today's generation of unemployed and unemployable are far more expectant of what they think society owes them. It is a recipe for violence and mayhem on a significant scale. Top leaders in the corrupt, racist House

Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) routinely denounce the fledgling Tea Party movement (the closest we have to the BNP!) in hateful terms. And to cap it all the hot head Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX) has fired off insinuations that it's racist to oppose Obama's out-of-control deficit spending! You just could not make it up!

Yours sincerely,

Sidney Secular, Silver Spring, Maryland



Sir – *H&D* has become one of those nationalist publications that I rip open on receipt, and the whole thing gets read within two or three days. I especially enjoy reading *H&D* on the evening commuter train when surrounded by dozens of non-whites and commie-lib white suburbanites. Sometimes my reading habit earns me a stern scowl from a lefty, and it brings me great enjoyment!

Well sometime I hope to talk at length about European and American nationalism. But until then a few thoughts come to mind:

1. Your *H&D* publication is great, it names names and forces character judgments. Keep it up!

2. European nationalism is far advanced compared to the American kind. Negroes have been in the USA for hundreds of years, while the phenomenon is relatively new in UK and Europe, and I definitely sense far great hostility towards them by the average European compared to that of the basic, brainwashed American.

3. I wish your new political party venture very well, and hope that eventually the BNP mess will go away, along with Mr. Bizarre their leader!

4. The new nationalist party in the USA, the "American Third Position", has started operations and exists but lives in an extremely hostile environment where many American Nationalists get great enjoyment by sinking their buddies. Sound familiar?

So again, well done with *H&D*, keep up the good work.

Max Cunningham, Fort Royal, Virginia



Sir - The "quality press" editors will publish letters from poor ethnic minorities wailing that some awful white called them a "darkie". But let a white worker protest over being called "chav" or "pig-ignorant ned", and they'll bin our letters. I conclude that the men who run the media hate and despise us blue collar white men, and won't permit us a reply to our detractors.

They call us "Nazis", "Fascists", "Racists" and "White Supremacists" to justify their hatred for us. So they use these little trigger words when they write their vile hatescreeds against us. They know these words will release decades of conditioned reflexes created in them by the media's programming of their minds.

One journalist up here said he never travels on a bus in case he meets a white worker. He always uses taxis. I assume he gets a receipt for it, and charges it up to his expenses account? This man actually said we should be infected with bubonic plague to cull us – what awful hate!

We white workers are like the kulaks in the Soviet Union. The media is creating hatred for us in folks' minds. The Reds slaughtered the kulaks: are we white workers being groomed for some future slaughter?

Yours sincerely,

Harry Mullin, Glasgow, Scotland



Movement News Update

The closing months of 2011 saw the BNP a shadow of the party that had elected two MEPs just two years earlier, or the movement that at various times in the previous decade had shaken the complacent political establishment in town halls such as Oldham, Burnley, Calderdale, Bradford, Kirklees, Stoke, Sandwell and Barking. The few by-elections now contested by a semi-bankrupt BNP offered little relief for activists depressed and bemused by their leadership's financial and legal travails.

The highest profile was the parliamentary by-election on 15th December in the West London constituency of **Feltham & Heston**, following the death of Labour MP Alan Keen. This is a racially divided constituency where nationalists have always polled reasonably well, and in by-election circumstances the BNP would have expected to save their deposit. Some observers were surprised that the National Front, recently boosted by an influx of London BNP defectors led by Richard Edmonds, chose not to field a candidate. Former Ealing North general election candidate Dave Furness flew the flag for the BNP, while the English Democrats (boosted by their much delayed recruitment of former BNP election supremo Eddy Butler) fielded Roger Cooper, the party's London area chairman.

Cooper was supported by a number of former BNP & NF members now in the English Democrats's including Mark Twiddy, the ED's GLA candidate for Havering and Redbridge. Twiddy who joined and was active in the EDs years before Butler/Beverley decided to embrace English nationalism, is one of a their key party activists in London/Essex and has organised street activities with the rival English People's Party (EPP).

On 6th October the BNP's Keith Oxford contested Lower Stoke ward on **Coventry** City Council. The party had fought every election here since 2007, when they polled 10.7%, but had fallen steadily to 5.8% earlier this year. In by-election circumstances, and with the Tories fielding a Sikh candidate, the BNP might have hoped for a temporary morale boost before the deluge of bad publicity anticipated the following week. Yet Mr Oxford managed only 149 votes (5.9%) and was beaten by the far left Socialist Alternative candidate who polled 10.1%.

The following week – just three days after the *Panorama* broadcast – the BNP's deputy Yorkshire organiser Danny Cooke stood in one of the party's best target wards: St Helen's, **Barnsley**. The party had been runner-up here at each of the previous three elections, with a peak vote of 635 (30.3%) for Lisa Brooksbank in 2008. This time Mr Cooke was opposed by English Democrat candidate Kevin Riddiough, who had been the ED standard bearer at the Barnsley Central parliamentary by-election in March, but whose party had never previously contested this ward.

After a week of appalling publicity the BNP was probably relieved not to be overtaken by the EDs. Mr Cooke polled the worst ever BNP result in this ward: 174 votes (10.5%), while Mr Riddiough was close behind with 146 votes (8.8%). As Andrew Brons pointed out ten days later at the BNP Ideas conference, this result did not support the Eddy Butler argument that voters would respond favourably to a more moderate, non-racial nationalist alternative. Nevertheless it confirmed that the BNP is in a critical, probably terminal condition.

Out of no fewer than eight simultaneous by-elections on 20th October the BNP fought two. In a rehearsal for next year's Greater London elections they entered a six-horse contest in Shortlands ward, **Bromley**. This was never going to be one of the BNP's best London wards, but it should have been one of their best wards in Bromley, and candidate Michael Payne must have been shocked to finish bottom of the poll with

only 35 votes (1.4%). UKIP's vote was more than four times higher: 153 votes (6.1%).

On the same day ultra-Griffinite Kay Pollitt stood for the BNP in the Lab-Con marginal Eccles ward for **Salford** City Council. As in Bromley, this was new territory for the party but saw a high profile campaign, run by Ms Pollitt's partner, Salford organiser Gary Tumulty. Ms Pollitt's 147 votes (6.5%) was one of the party's best recent results, and Salford BNP will have been pleased to finish ahead of the Liberal Democrats, who have never polled well here and are collapsing across England's northern cities.

A rare county council target area came onto the radar on 3rd November with a by-election in the Syston Ridgeway division of **Leicestershire**. Local BNP councillor Cathy Duffy, who has represented nearby East Goscote on **Charnwood** Borough Council since 2007, was the BNP challenger for this county division which is more than 97% White. At the previous county council election in 2009 the BNP finished runners-up with 621 votes (19.4%), but Ms Duffy slipped to a distant third with 279 votes (14.8%). This is still

a creditable result by recent BNP standards, but to finish well behind Labour as well as the Tories in an area like Syston suggests that the once powerful East Midlands BNP won't be winning any more elections without a total overhaul of the party.

A week later on 10th November London BNP managed to field two candidates, continuing their policy of getting onto every ballot paper possible across the capital in advance of next year's GLA elections. Each result was an unmitigated disaster, again continuing London BNP's recent trend. The party is now achieving some of the lowest votes in the history of nationalism: can it get any worse? In Aldborough ward, **Redbridge**, the BNP's Danny Warville (a member of Griffin's "security" team) managed to lose to a UKIP paper candidate. Mr Warville was bottom of the poll with a humiliating 34 votes (1.2%). Meanwhile in St Mary's ward, **Islington**, BNP candidate Walter Barfoot had no nationalist opposition and was contesting a ward badly affected by this summer's riots, but he fared even worse



Former UKIP candidate Paul Weston, who spoke in Israel in December 2010 at a conference supporting extremist Jewish settlers, has become chairman of the British Freedom Party, the new political wing of the English Defence League, which is now openly in support of ultra-militant Zionism

with just 22 votes (0.9%).

Apart from the Barnsley by-election mentioned above, the English Democrats concentrated on internal party shake-ups and avoided standing even in a **Lincolnshire** County Council by-election close to one of their main strongholds. They did field a candidate in Bloxwich East ward, **Walsall**, on 27th October. Chris Newey polled 49 votes (2.6%), but was beaten by UKIP's Derek Bennett with 98 votes (5.1%). On 1st December the best ED vote for some time came in the Rayleigh Central ward, in one of the EDs' other target councils, **Rochford**. John Hayter doubled the ED vote, finishing runner-up with 218 votes (29.4%).

Unsurprisingly given its greater profile and resources, UKIP continues to contest more by-elections than the BNP and EDs combined, and one or two of its results have been getting better, having traditionally been very poor at local council level. The only serious UKIP challenge was in rural Kent on 13th October, where they fought a high profile campaign in Meopham North ward, **Gravesham**, and finished a close second to the Tories with 33.7%. On this occasion UKIP had focused heavily on an important local issue of threatened housing development on green field sites.

Another credible UKIP result was in Newchapel ward, **Newcastle-under-Lyme**, on 27th October when they managed to increase their vote from 15.4% to 21.7% – but bear in mind that this is one of the main UKIP target councils in the entire country, much as neighbouring **Stoke-on-Trent** used to be for the BNP. Similarly their 25.9% in Salthill ward, **Ribble Valley**, on 17th November was in a potential target ward: among the few where a really serious UKIP ought to be winning by-elections. The closest to a UKIP gain this autumn was on 24th November in Hazlemere South ward, **Wycombe**, where a strong local candidate finished a close

second with 365 votes (33.4%), just 47 votes behind the Liberal Democrat. Considering that the collapse of the Euro was a main news item throughout the second half of 2011, it is surprising that the vast majority of UKIP by-election candidates continue to poll below 10%, often below 5%. One has to ask: if UKIP cannot make a breakthrough in these circumstances, will it ever achieve significant success outside European Parliamentary elections?

Yet another BNP splinter group formed during the summer of 2011 – the Britannica Party – predictably suffered a disastrous result in **Glasgow** City Council's Hillhead ward on 17th November, former Glasgow BNP organiser Charles Baillie finishing bottom of a crowded field with 11 votes (0.4%).

The only far left party to achieve any serious electoral success since the decline of the old Communist Party has been the Respect Coalition, which initially combined a solid backbone of Socialist Workers Party activists, the master of self-publicity George Galloway, and an electoral appeal targeted mainly at Muslim voters alienated by New Labour's wars for Israel.

Respect's leader since 2005 has been Salma Yaqoob, who was elected in the formerly safe Labour Sparkbrook ward on **Birmingham** City Council in 2006 and re-elected in 2010. During the summer she stood down from the city council (though oddly not from the Respect leadership) citing ill health, and a Sparkbrook by-election was held on 10th November.

Labour selected a white candidate (Victoria Quinn, partner of Labour council leader Sir Albert Bore) for this heavily Asian ward (only 21% White even at the 2001 census), while Respect, the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives each had an Asian candidate. Ms Quinn defied some pundits by winning the by-election with a big majority over Respect and a 6% swing. Perhaps Respect, like the BNP, is heading for electoral oblivion?

On the crankiest fringe of party politics, the British Freedom Party (founded last year by BNP rebels Peter Mullins, Lee Barnes and Simon Bennett) has suffered the type of takeover more commonly seen in the City of London and is now the political wing of the English Defence League.

Former UKIP candidate Paul Weston has taken over as BFP leader, while EDL leader Tommy Robinson has ordered his diminished gang of football hooligans to back Weston's ultra-Zionist agenda. Some of us saw this coming a year or two ago. Several EDL branches have already defected to the "Infidels" – an anti-Zionist breakaway from the EDL – while others, including the former EDL forum moderator Eddie Stampton and his allies in London and Essex, have refused to follow Robinson's latest orders to move into the BFP.

Shortly before the *Panorama* broadcast mentioned elsewhere in this issue, nationalists across the movement were shocked by the sudden death of David Hannam, 30 year old former treasurer of the BNP. Mr Hannam had been an active nationalist since the age of 16, and had served a term of imprisonment in a young offenders institution in 2001 for breaking Britain's notorious race laws.

For several years Mr Hannam was party organiser in Humberside and Lincolnshire, before being given the thankless task of working in the BNP's Treasury department. His tragically misplaced loyalty to Nick Griffin was repeatedly exploited, between 2004 and 2006 as accounts officer at BNP central office, then from 2006 to 2010 as Deputy Treasurer, responsible for the party's regional accounting unit.

At the start of March 2010 Mr Hannam was appointed National Treasurer of the BNP and the following statement was issued in his name: "I have met the party's chartered accountant this week and agreed upon a schedule of controls. We are not a small political force any more. With political expansion comes the need for financial expansion, but with notably more transparency and control. We have this week submitted the 2009 Regional Statement of Accounts to the auditor and we intend to do the

same very shortly with the Central Statement of Accounts ensuring two of the earliest submissions this party has ever made."

This was of course just another desperate attempt to fool the members, and Mr Hannam himself was already being fitted up by the Griffin cabal as the ideal fall guy. Within weeks of his appointment Mr Hannam was approached by his old friend Mark Collett, who warned him that huge sums had been misappropriated from party funds. Sadly Mr Hannam panicked and remained loyal to the BNP leadership. He was persuaded to tape a subsequent telephone call from Collett and the tape was later doctored by BNP 'security' officers to give the impression that Collett was planning violence against his factional rivals, including Griffin.

Collett was briefly arrested, though all charges were dropped when the police realised that the 'evidence' had been rigged. At the end of March there was a great purge of party officials who had taken Collett's side and had raised questions about the missing funds.

The row helped derail the party's 2010 general election campaign, and persistent exposés by the leading rebel Eddy Butler eventually led to this year's Andrew Brons leadership challenge and the imminent launch of a breakaway party.

Meanwhile David Hannam remained as party treasurer, but only for long enough to take the rap. At the end of October 2010 he was replaced by the sinister figure of Clive Jefferson (who under the name Clive Aitken had been a defendant in a major drugs trial). Yet again statements were issued about previous accounting failures. Yet again promises were made that improved structures were in place. But this time there was to be no escape route: the 2010 accounts have (even now) not been submitted, in yet another blatant breach of the law.

Finally allowing reality to take the place of blind loyalty, David Hannam began secret cooperation with investigators from the

BBC's *Panorama* planning a programme on the BNP's financial scandals. Yet the accumulated stress of six years in the BNP Treasury department had taken its toll. On 1st October he was found dead in the kitchen of their home by his wife, fellow BNP activist Diane (*née* Bridgeman), with whom he ran a business breeding boxer dogs at Market Weighton, near York.

Many nationalists (including *H&D* correspondents) have been bitterly critical of David Hannam's record as BNP Treasurer, a role for which he had no apparent qualifications other than loyalty to the leadership. Yet we should remember that he was selected by the leader not despite this lack of qualifications, but because of it. Mr Hannam ultimately never profited from his association with the BNP, in fact it cost him money as well as his life. His talents were far better directed as a nationalist singer-songwriter, which is how he will be best remembered by a future, reunited post-Griffin movement. In 2005 he founded Great White Records, a nationalist music venture which he ran with party manager and Yorkshire BNP organiser Nick Cass (now with the English Democrats). Their first CD, *Time to Make a Stand*, is a fitting memorial to David Hannam, and it is sad that his own stand came too late.

I only met David Hannam once, at the BNP's Red White and Blue festival in 2001. He had just been released from prison and the party was in optimistic mood. The truth is that the shadows of Griffinite corruption were already gathering, for those who chose not to avert their eyes. BNP deputy chairman Sharron Edwards, her husband and West Midlands organiser Steve Edwards, and BNP Treasurer Mike Newland had already raised the alarm, and were about to break away to form the Freedom Party.

In common with most of the party I allowed party loyalty to take the place of common sense and stayed with the BNP until I was purged in my turn a year later. I can hardly complain that David Hannam (who after all was fifteen years younger and far less politically experienced) made the same misjudgment, with tragic consequences.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England



James North (left) resigned as Regional Secretary of East Midlands BNP and branch organiser for Melton and Rutland after Nick Griffin's disgraceful exploitation of the death of former BNP Treasurer David Hannam (right).



DVD Review: *Vichy – The French Collaborationist Newsreels*

Released U.K. 2011. 110 mins, available from BM Candour, London, WC1N 3XX, England for £8 incl. p&p – cheques etc. payable to The A.K. Chesterton Trust. Outside U.K. please add 30% for airmail and send payment by secure post in pound notes, dollar bills, euro notes or International Money Orders in pound sterling. <http://www.candour.org.uk>

This is an unusual documentary, compiled in the 1990s under the direction of left-wing French film maker Claude Chabrol, but consisting for the most part of original newsreel footage produced from 1940 to 1944 by the French nationalist government of Marshal Philippe Pétain, based in Vichy and demonised by post-war historians for "collaboration" with Germany.

Chabrol has added a voiceover (in this English version read by the actor Brian Cox) and a few anti-Pétainiste and anti-German remarks, but this DVD is still a rare opportunity to view original footage giving what are now forbidden (and often criminalised) views. The film begins with the crushing defeat of France during a few weeks in May and June 1940. While new British Prime Minister Winston Churchill urged continued resistance, if necessary retreating into Brittany and continuing some form of guerrilla campaign, most French political and military leaders soon recognised that they had been defeated and that an honourable peace settlement should be sought with Germany.

Among them were the supreme commander of the French forces, Gen. Maxime Weygand, then 73 years old, and the even more venerable Marshal Philippe Pétain, then almost 84. Pétain had been one of the most successful French commanders during the First World War, notably at the Battle of Verdun in 1916. Throughout his many appearances in this film, what stands out is his stoical determination that France and French values would survive defeat. He was no puppet of Germany, and it is clear from the footage collected here that he retained enormous popularity among ordinary French men and women throughout the war.

On 16th June Pétain succeeded Paul Reynaud as Prime Minister after Reynaud had failed to win the support of his cabinet for the last alternative to peace with Germany: Churchill's proposal for Franco-British union, which most patriotic Frenchmen regarded as a surrender of their sovereignty and effective absorption of France as a British Dominion. By contrast the armistice that Pétain soon agreed with Germany allowed 40% of the country to remain independent under his leadership. The north and the Atlantic coastal area was occupied by Germany, though it is clear from the first half of this film that most Pétainistes expected Britain to be defeated quickly, after which France would take her place as part of a new European order.



Anti-communist posters on the streets of Vichy France. Note the left-hand poster's reference to Katyn, which the Vichy French (unlike the contemporary British and their 'Free French' proxies) correctly identified as a Stalinist massacre of the Polish officer corps.

Pétain and several other leading French spokesmen make the point several times during this film that they were regarded by most compatriots as the true voice of France, and that the true puppets of alien forces were those broadcasting propaganda from London or Algiers. Very few military or political leaders in the early stages of the war supported the so-called 'Free French' led by Reynaud's junior defence minister Charles de Gaulle, who was totally dependent on British funds.

Fewer than thirty members of the French parliament went into exile to continue a militant struggle against collaboration. Among them were prominent Jewish politicians such as the conservative Georges Mandel and the socialist Pierre Mendès France.

Informed viewers will be able to detect a difference in emphasis between on the one hand Pétain and his Prime Minister Pierre Laval, who believed that Frenchmen should accept that they were no longer part of the war and should get on with tilling the soil and hoping for better times, and on the other more militant nationalists such as Marcel Déat and Jacques Doriot, former leftists who now advocated a form of French national socialism and alliance with Germany.

Déat, Doriot and others united in the summer of 1941 to form the Legion of French Volunteers Against Bolshevism (LVF), whose posters can be seen on the cover of this DVD and in the background of the photo below. The LVF fought alongside Germany against Stalin's Red Army on the Eastern Front (backed by anti-Communist volunteers from many countries). In

1944 LVF survivors were merged into the Charlemagne Division of the Waffen SS, most of whom were killed resisting the Soviet advance in Pomerania (presently part of northern Poland).

1.6 million French prisoners had been taken by Germany during their defeat in 1940. With the continuing demands of total war, it was impossible to expect these prisoners to be returned to France instantly, but several Vichy broadcasts featured here focus on successful negotiations for their early release, sometimes in return for young French civilians happy to move to Germany and support important industries. Featured in several broadcasts is Pétain's ambassador Georges Scapini, a popular advocate of collaboration who had been blinded while fighting against Germany during the First World War. Another effective speaker featured is Philippe Henriot, who was murdered in Paris three weeks after the Normandy landings in June 1944.

Also featured several times is René Bousquet, the socialist civil servant and Vichy police chief. This is no coincidence, as during the making of this film Bousquet was being targeted by Jewish and anti-fascist groups. He had been acquitted after the war and had rebuilt a successful career in banking and journalism, becoming part of an influential group of Vichy collaborationists around socialist leader François Mitterrand, who as a law student in the 1930s had been active in several nationalist movements. Even with Mitterrand as President of France after 1981, Bousquet was unable to fight off Jewish campaigns for his prosecution. He was indicted in 1991, but was shot dead in June 1993 at his Paris apartment a few weeks before his trial was due to begin.

So this DVD appeared in 1993 against a background of renewed French interest in the complexities and compromises of Vichy. It is impossible to imagine such a relatively uncensored film being allowed in Germany: in fact it is rare anywhere to encounter such a wealth of primary source material.

Reviewed by Mark Cotterill, Preston, Lancashire